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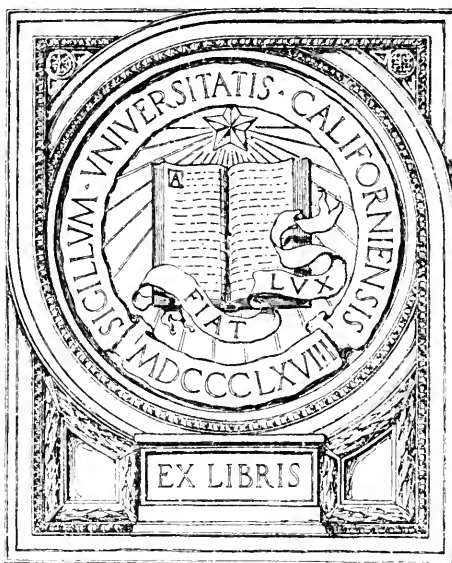
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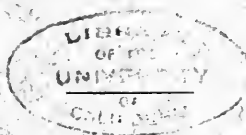
EXCHANGE
JUL 30 1913

Baron Christoph von Graffenried's New Bern Adventures

BY

VINCENT HOLLIS TODD

(A.B., Harvard University, 1907; A.M., University of Illinois, 1910)



THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN
GERMAN IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1912

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TO MRU
AIRBORNE

PREFACE

The following study of the origin and incipient history of one of the early German settlements in America presents the introduction to a critical edition of hitherto unpublished German and French documents left by Baron von Graffenried which I have prepared for the North Carolina Historical Commission and which will be published in the near future. In this edition there will appear also the philological apparatus consisting of notes and a glossary of the many unusual words contained in the documents.

My interest in the history of the German settlements of this country goes back to my boyhood days in Pennsylvania where I knew many of the so-called 'Pennsylvania Dutch' people. No one among my American acquaintances, however, seemed to know much about them, nor could I learn anything concerning them from the school books on American history which were then used in the public schools. The best information I could get was that these people were descended from Hessian soldiers who had remained in America after the Revolutionary War.

When later my scientific interest in the history of the Germans in America was aroused by the lectures of Professor Julius Goebel at Harvard University and afterwards at the University of Illinois, I continued to make inquiries in order to learn whether others had had experiences similar to my own in seeking to find out more concerning this important ethnic element of our nation. To my astonishment I found that the story of the German settlements was little known even among teachers of American history, despite the fact that in recent years much has been done in this field and that the story itself is as important and interesting as many stories with which we are more familiar.

In conclusion I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to the members of the German and French departments of the University of Illinois, and to Professor Julius Goebel especially, for kindly advice and encouragement. It was at his suggestion and under his direction that I undertook this study for which he put at my disposal the rich manuscript material which has collected on the Graffenried episode.

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CHRISTOPH VON GRAFFENRIED AND THE FOUND-
ING OF NEW BERN, N. C.

BY VINCENT H. TODD, PH.D.

Professor in Greenville College, Ill.

INTRODUCTION

A carefully prepared and conservative computation made within the last ten years gives the surprising result that of our white population there are at least twenty-seven per cent of German birth or extraction, while those of English origin number but thirty per cent. With such a proportion of Germans, is it not strange that almost nothing is said in our histories about this great element of our population; about the causes that induced them to leave their homes; about the circumstances of their first settlements; about their influence upon the growth of our common culture?

The reason of this lies, partly in the undeveloped provincial character of American historiography, partly in the fact that American History was first written by men from New England. They wrote of the things with which they were most familiar, their own Puritan commonwealths and the Institutions developed from them. Biased by provincial prejudices they overlooked other events of equally great importance, so that their histories read like a one-sided glorification of their ancestors. A very powerful contributory cause for this discrimination is the fact that the Germans made their settlements comparatively late, and for the most part avoided New England. By the time the first permanent settlements were made at Germantown, near Philadelphia (1683), New England had passed through some of its most epoch-making experiences. The colonies about Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut and Rhode Island had been settled and their characteristic institutions, which have come down to our own time, were becoming fixed in laws and customs of the people. American historiography as first conceived by the New England historians has since followed the same or similar lines, and until recently, when the German Americans themselves

took up the work, very little, in general, was known about the early life of this portion of our population.

It is to be hoped that this regrettable division in matters of historical truth will be done away with, and since no one nationality can rightfully claim all the honor of having made America what it is, Germans as well as Puritans and Cavaliers will come to be recognized for what they are or have done, and not be excluded from consideration for what they have not done. To illustrate: It was not a German woman's pig to which we traced the bicameral system of Government in Massachusetts; but it is to the German settlers at Schoharie that we, in a large measure, owe the fortunate outcome of the French and Indian war, for it was they who kept the Six Nations from joining the French, when such an event would have spelled disaster to the New York and New England colonies: they did not give us theocracies from which a doubtful ideal of the state eventually evolved; but they helped to give us freedom of conscience, the very corner-stone of modern politics, and it is to the German printer in New York, that we owe an untrammelled public press. Who shall say which is the worthier?

It is not sufficient then to know that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a large number of Germans came to America, and made or tried to make certain settlements. We want to go farther and learn about their life and work and be able to appreciate them as we do the other pioneers. It is for this reason that a study of Baron Christoph von Grafenried's settlement may be considered worth while.

This colony in North Carolina would have consisted of only a few Swiss adventurers but for the events of the year 1709. These enlarged the scope, increased the prestige of the undertaking, gave the leadership to one of the few ever to possess a title of nobility in Locke's new American order, made this pioneer of several Swiss undertakings the nearest approach to Locke's ideal that ever existed in America, and taking it out of its isolation, made it a part of the great German migration of 1709; a consideration of which may properly precede the study of Grafenried's own adventures.

Since a man should be judged by his intentions and by the times in which he lived, as well as by the actual results of his efforts, it has seemed well to quote from or make references to the writings of contemporaries wherever possible.¹ For instance, his expectation of becoming rich from silver mines in Maryland or Virginia seems to us absurd because we know there is no silver in those parts in paying quantities; but if we find, that in his day, everyone believed that there was silver to be found there, and if we remember that the Secretary of the London Royal Society in 1669 urged Governor John Winthrop to look for mines in Connecticut and if necessary to "employ dogs of the best sent"² for this purpose, Graffenried's persistency in searching for silver takes on a different aspect.

PART I.

THE PALATINE MOVEMENT

CHAPTER I.

The generally accepted causes of the Palatine migration.

The great stream of emigrants from Germany to England and from thence to America, beginning rather feebly in the latter part of the seventeenth century, then suddenly swelling to such enormous proportions that more Germans had come to New York, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina in one year than had come to New England in the first ten years of the settlements about Massachusetts Bay, has as its fundamental cause the great intellectual movement of the Reformation, and the equally intense Counter Reformation which began in the latter part of the sixteenth century and extended far into the seventeenth century.

Since the Protestant Reformation in England had come rather later than in Germany, and had not been so radical

¹ There is some assurance that this hoped for change of attitude will come, when a historian like Channing in his *History of the United States* (vol. II, pages 116, 395, 404 ff.) gives a rather extended and appreciative notice of the Germans in Pennsylvania. In a foot note on page 405 he mentions the manuscripts on which this paper has been based.

² Proceedings Mass. Hist. Society, 1878, pages 229-240.

at the start, English reformers long looked upon Germany as the fatherland of the Reformation, and during the persecution which accompanied the reaction under Mary (1553-1558) those who escaped over seas found refuge in Holland, Germany and Switzerland. Under Elizabeth protestantism was again gradually restored, but there was no place for any who disagreed with the church as established by the state, and dissenters were severely punished, but still the sentiment of protest grew until after the revolution of 1642, when Cromwell, having finally become a dictator, was able to introduce a second reformation, which led to a wider separation from Rome. He hoped to secure the ground gained by a union of the protestant states against the Catholic Spanish world. He conceived England to be the champion protector of protestantism, and by such a union, he hoped to make it a world power. During the reigns of Charles II and James II there was another reaction which, however, was not so violent as that in the reign of Mary. When William of Orange became King of England protestantism was again fully restored and there was even some relief given dissenters. It was Queen Anne, however, who took up Cromwell's work, and to the best of her ability carried out his program of national and protestant expansion. Public opinion, moreover, was, to a large degree, with her in this matter.

Interest in the German protestant situation was kept alive by pamphlets which gave information about the condition of the Reformation in Germany and particularly in the Palatinate to which they felt related because of the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England, to the Elector Frederick, better known as the Winter King. This interest was further increased since the cause had been compelled to fight for its life in Germany as well as in England.

Not only the wars which came in Luther's time and immediately following his death were caused by the Reformation; but the Thirty Year's War and the wars in which the French King, Louis XIV, involved Europe during his long reign were also very largely incited by the same spirit of enmity that animated the earlier Counter Reformation.

In all these struggles no portion of Germany suffered so much as that part called the Lower Palatinate.¹ Lying as it does on the eastern boundary of France, it was easily accessible to the French soldiery; a fertile country, it offered excellent opportunity for maintaining an army; and being Protestant it was an especial object of resentment to the French King. Turrenne in 1674 ravaged the province thoroughly, in accordance with his policy of making the enemy support his army. Then in the wars of 1688-89, while the rest of Germany which might have given aid was busy warding off the Turks, Louis XIV took the opportunity of weakening the enemy, venting his malice against the Protestants, and doing a pleasure to Madame de Maintenon by devastating the province in a way unparalleled in modern history. He purposed to make the country as nearly a desert as possible, and to do so wantonly burned cities and towns as well as isolated dwellings, cut down orchards and uprooted vines. Many of the inhabitants were butchered, others died of exposure, others fled, and the few who remained were left in a most miserable condition. The treaty of Ryswijck gave a temporary relief and many refugees returned to their homes. But in 1700 the wars of the Spanish Succession broke out, and the Palatinate was again over-run with troops. The destruction seems not to have been so severe as in the previous war, but the new Elector, now a Catholic, subjected the Protestants to a system of persecution which was very annoying and disquieting; for the persecutions which had long accompanied the Reformation throughout Europe, were still fresh in men's memories and they dreaded the worst.

By the Peace of Westphalia (1648) the Lutheran and Reformed Religions had been established in the Palatinate and the Catholic religion was allowed only on sufferance of the Elector. But now under John William (1690-1716) religious toleration was announced, and the Roman Catholic faith thereby put upon a theoretical equality with the other two. As a matter of fact, he went farther and took revenues, churches, and schools belonging to the Protestants, whether

¹ Eccl. Rec. vol. III, page 1453 ff.

or not they had been Catholic property, and turned them to Catholic uses, or else arranged for Catholic and Protestants to have joint possession of the church edifices. He refused to allow Protestant clergymen to sit in the Ecclesiastical Council; and when the people protested, he said that the "ministers were seditious rebels". Soldiers, moreover, were quartered on the peasants to harass them. The persecution, also, often took the form of bodily injury and death was frequently the result. No wonder, then, the poorer subjects became alarmed.

In Switzerland the Anabaptist having no legal status had always been exposed to the doubtful mercies of the bigoted Reformed Church.¹ The martyrdom of many of the leaders was a recent memory, and at this very time (1708-9) the prisons were full of those whose greatest crime was obedience to the scriptural injunction "swear not at all", and a disagreement with the Reformed Church as to the time in the candidate's life when baptism was to be administered.

In other provinces of Germany, as well as in the Palatinate, there was great suffering among the poorer classes because of the oppressions of the petty princes who fashioned their courts after the model of Versailles, plunged into extravagance and excess of all kinds, the burden of which fell upon the laboring classes who suffered severely from the exorbitant taxes and tolls demanded to defray these expenses.

This wide spread poverty, and the religious persecutions had for years been producing a general unrest, and those who saw no hope of better conditions at home, began to look to America as a place where they could go and be safe. A rather small colony had gone to Pennsylvania with Pastorius as early as 1683, and a few families or single persons had gone every year since.² Another small company, 50 persons in all, under the Lutheran pastor, Kocherthal, came to England in 1708 and were sent to New York.

In 1709 a further cause was given in an exceedingly hard

¹ E. Mueller, *Bernische Täufer*. Ad fin.

² Penn. Ger. Soc. vol. VII, page 265.

winter.¹ The cold was so intense that birds and animals succumbed to its severity and the loss of life among the very poor was considerable. Such an experience would doubtless make Kocherthal's description of Carolina more attractive than ever. That same spring and summer great numbers of Germans came through Holland to England and were given all possible care by public and private philanthropy. This is generally spoken of as the Palatine Migration but the name is misleading because there were many other German speaking people in the movement. The majority of these immigrants did, however, come from the Palatinate; and as the English people were interested in that province, they gave the name without distinction to all who came.

CHAPTER II.

The decisive cause of the Palatine migration.

The causes mentioned, together with the so-called German *Wanderlust* and the attraction which America had for Europeans, have been considered sufficient to explain this migration. But are they sufficient? Is there not a more important problem still unsolved? When one considers that all these contributing causes, political oppression, religious persecution, devastation of property, and poverty had existed for years in Germany and Switzerland; that the passion for travel had always been characteristic of this people; that the advantages of America had been well set forth by the preaching of William Penn and other Quakers before this colony was founded; that over ² 50 books, broadsides, and pamphlets had been circulated over Germany, all in the interest of inducing emigration to Pennsylvania, and had resulted in only one small settlement at Germantown in Pennsylvania in 1683; his conclusion must be that there must have been something more than the severe winter added to the above causes which increased the numbers of the emigrants from a small flock of 50 under Kocherthal's leadership in 1708 to a mass of over 10,000 persons without a leader in 1709. How does it

¹ Penn. Ger. Soc. vol. VII, page 283.

² Penn. Ger. Soc. vol. VII, page 175.

happen that they all expected to be taken to America, despite the fact that the Walloons who preceded them had no such hopes?

The truth is Queen Anne was attempting to continue Cromwell's plan of expansion, and in this program there was need of increasing her subjects at home and in the colonies, by inviting, and even subsidizing, people to settle in English America. At the same time also the Proprietors of the Provinces were quite as anxious as the Queen to have their territories settled; and no one was more industrious than Penn in advertising his province. Yet the matter is difficult to treat, because direct evidence is not plentiful, since no one wished to take the responsibility of tempting the subjects to leave their rightful lord. But there was one document which had great, perhaps the greatest influence in persuading people to go to America; and that was a small volume printed first in 1706, by the Reverend Mr. Kocherthal.

The Reverend Mr. Kocherthal, just mentioned, had not been to America at the time he published his book, but had been in England to make inquiries about the colonies. Having become convinced of the advantages of South Carolina, he wrote a hand book for Germans, describing the province, with directions how to go there. This book was so eagerly read that in 1709 it had reached its fourth edition. Graffenried and several of his settlers mention Kocherthal's book, and indeed this is the only book the settlers do mention; and from the nature of their allusions to it one must conclude they were strongly influenced by it. In fact, the book continued to have such an effect, even after Kocherthal had gone to New York (1708) that Anton Wilhelm Boehme,¹ pastor of the German Court Chapel of St. James, felt called upon to issue a series of tracts in book form, under the title "*Das verlangte / nicht erlangte Canaan*", directed specifically against Kocherthal's description of South Carolina.

An investigation, detailed mention of which will be made later, brings out the additional fact that another great cause of the emigration was the so-called Golden Book, named so

¹ Penn. Ger. Soc. vol. VIII, page 47 ff.

because the Queen's picture adorned one of the front pages, and the title page was printed in gilt letters. This was evidently a very special and expensive edition, and was probably published with the Queen's permission some time after she had ascended the throne in 1702, the evident intention being to impress German readers. From the language in the report of the investigating committee it is clear that the book was written chiefly in praise of Carolina.

Absolute proof cannot be given; but judging from the coincidence of the date at which the book appeared, Kocherthal's in 1706, the Golden Book between 1702 and 1709, from the similarity of the subject matter, both treating of Carolina in particular, and from the effect, one may conclude that Kocherthal's book and the Golden Book are identical. The following passages occur in the fourth edition undoubtedly reprinted from the first, and are among the directions to prospective colonists.

8. Nachdem aber die Fracht selbst zu bezahlen sehr theuer / und solche abzuverdienen sehr beschwerlich / als hat der Author auff alle Weise sich angelegen seyn lassen / ob ditzfalls andere Mittel aufzufinden seyn möchten; worauff endlich der Vorschlag geschehen / daß die Königin mit einer Supplication müßte ersucht werden / ob selbige die Schiffe zur Ueberfahrt hergeben wollte / da dann vielleicht geschehen könnte / daß man auch mit Königl. Schiffen von Holland abgeholt würde / und also auch diesen Ueberfahrts-Kosten ersparen könnte; doch müßten auff solchen Fall eine gute Anzahl Leute miteinander kommen / weilen widrigenfalls der Mühe nicht wehrt seyn würde / die Königin zu bemühen viel weniger so viel Kosten anzuwenden / als bei diesen zu den Schiffen und Convoy erfordert wird.

9. Weilen auch bey diesen Zeiten an dem Königl. Hoff so wol wegen des schwehren Kriegs / als auch wegen der immerfort währenden vielen Collecten-Gelder die Aufgaben unbeschreiblich groß als hat man hierinnen mehrere Vorschläge gethan / wie die Sache anzugreifen / damit die Königin der andermärtigen schwehren Unkosten ungeachtet / die Schiffe zur Ueberfahrt vergeben möchte; es seyn aber diese Vorschläge zu weitläuffig hier zu beschreiben; doch hoffet man / daß vermittelt derselben die Bemühung nicht umsonst seyn werde wiewol niemand hierinnen etwas

gewisses versprechen fan / sondern erwarten muß / was die Göttliche Schickung hierinnen verfügen werde.¹

No very definite hopes are held out in these passages, but it would not require the Queen's picture and the gilded title page to give the impression to the poor people into whose hands the book would come, that they might expect help from her, both in crossing the Channel and after their arrival in England, in going to the Colonies. The effect could be no better with a direct and unequivocal statement, and there would be no danger of serious complications with the German princes, while, likewise, such a procedure would be quite in harmony with her diplomatic methods.

The Queen's policy of relieving the distressed Protestants met with considerable approval by the English people at first, for not only could they congratulate themselves on doing a charitable act to members of their own faith, but they could enjoy the prospect of turning the recipients of their charity to the material advantage of England. Simon Beaumont (July 18, 1709) expresses this mixture of motives in a letter too long to quote in full. "But these arguments aside. Receiving and succoring these poor Palatines seems to me but the payment of a just debt for the kind entertainment that gave many of our learned divines and others who were forced to take shelter beyond seas in the time of Queen Mary's persecution, and met with a hospitable reception at Frankfurt in Germany, in the Palatinate, the Netherland, Switzerland and other places and shall we now suffer any of the posterity of our quondam benefactors to perish for want of bread that providence has thrown into our arms for relief?" To the objection that England has enough poor of her own, he admits she has beggars enough and suggests that they go to work and there will be food enough for all; he then advances the generally accepted economic principle that "multiplying the number of inhabitants conduces to the strength, grandeur, and wealth of the kingdom, since its people are the Riches, Honor, and Strength of a nation and that wealth increases in an equal proportion to the additional number of

¹ Kocherthal, page 28.

the inhabitants". He also cites the fact that "the Palatines who went to Magdeburg in 1689 are worth 100,000 crowns a year to the King of Prussia". . . . "That Holland by giving refuge to distressed Protestants was enabled to beat off the Spanish" and concludes that "10,000 Palatines is about 8000£ without detriment to the nation". Beaumont would have had them retained in England, then, in place of letting them go to the colonies.¹

The encouragement, however, was not limited to mere expressions of good will on the part of private and public individuals, but, as will be shown, official help, to which Queen Anne, the Duke of Sunderland, and probably the Duke of Marlborough were parties was given in secret.

A bill, to naturalize foreign Protestants which had long been discussed was now passed (March 3, 1709),² if not for the sake of the immigrants, at least very opportunely for them. The result of the encouragement given was very flattering, for within a few months between 10,000 and 15,000 Germans were in England and had to be cared for. The people and the government rose to the emergency; tents and barns were assigned to these people for shelter;³ private charity was invoked for their relief; and the Queen authorized a daily expenditure at first of 16£, but later increased the amount to 100£.⁴ Meanwhile their spiritual welfare was attended to. Ministers were appointed for that particular service,⁵ Bibles were distributed freely among them,⁶ and as soon as possible plans for settlement were made. About 3000 were settled in Ireland on what was intended to be advantageous terms, but of these 232 families returned to London.⁷ Many enlisted,⁸ and provision was made to send great numbers to America at the expense of the government.

¹ Eccl. Rec., vol. III, page 1774 ff.

² Luttrell, vol. VI, page 413.

³ Eccl. Rec., vol. III, page 1750.

⁴ Eccl. Rec., vol. III, page 1753, 1786.

⁵ Eccl. Rec., vol. III, page 1742, 1785.

⁶ Eccl. Rec., vol. III, page 1786.

⁷ Eccl. Rec., vol. III, page 1836.

⁸ Pennsylvanien im 17ten Jahrhundert, page 71.

The phenomenal success of this scheme proved to be its undoing, for so many Germans took advantage of the opportunity that London was embarrassed with the expense and labor of supporting them. Soon complaints were made, not only by the poor of England who might be expected to look askance at this expenditure on these foreigners, when it could be so well employed by the needy folks at home, but also by persons in higher stations. This opposition grew and in consequence a petition was presented to the house of Commons. This resulted in the appointment of a committee (January 15, 1710) to inquire, among other things "upon what invitation or encouragement the Palatines came over, and what moneys were expended in bringing them here and by whom".¹ A bill was also ordered prepared to repeal the act for naturalizing foreign Protestants. But the important thing to notice is that the investigation assumes that these Protestants were invited or encouraged to come by some one, for otherwise such language would hardly have been used in the bill authorizing the investigation.

April 14, 1711 the committee made its report, of which the following extracts directly concern our discussion: "And upon the examination of several of them (Palatines) what were the motives which induced them to leave their native country, it appears to the committee that there were books and papers dispersed in the Palatinate with the Queen's picture before the book (and the title pages in letters of Gold which from thence was called the Golden Book) to encourage them to come to England in order to be sent to Carolina or other of her Majesty's Plantations to be settled there. The book is chiefly a commendation of that country.

What further encouraged them to leave their native country was the ravages the French had made and the damages the hard frost had done to their vines, and accordingly, one Joshua Kocherthall, a Lutheran Minister with some other Palatines to the number of 61 persons applied to Mr. Davenant at Frankfort for passes, but he refused them passes, moneys

¹ Eccl. Rec., Vol. III, page 1724 ff.

and recommendations for fear of disgusting the Elector Palatine and desired to know her Majesty's pleasure therein, how to behave himself, in which Mr. Bayle signifies her Majesty's commands that, though the desire of the poor people to settle in the plantations is very acceptable and would be for the public good, yet she can by no means consent to Mr. Davenant giving in any public way encouragement, either by money or passes to the elector Palatine's subjects to leave their country without his consent''. . . . The next year an Act for naturalizing Protestants being passed a great number of Palatines and some from other parts of Germany came into Holland, and from thence into England at several times, being upon their first arrival in Holland subsisted by the charity of Rotterdam, but afterwards at the Queen's expense and transports and other ships at her Majesty's charges provided to bring them thither as also all sorts of necessaries during this voyage by Mr. Dayralle, her Majesty's Secretary at the Hague, who had received instructions from Mr. Secretary Boyle (in her Majesty's name) to that purpose, pursuant to my Lord Duke of Marlborough's desire''. . . .

. . . Palatines still continued to come till the middle of October 1709 although the orders to Mr. Dayralle to hinder their coming were often repeated; and the States General had been asked by the English to send instructions to their minister in Germany, to discourage the coming of any more of the Elector Palatine's subjects in this manner since the Elector was highly offended by their desertion. Upon this Mr. Dayralle informed Mr. Secretary Boyle that these people (20 Aug. 1709) were encouraged to emigrate by somebody in England, and that since the Prohibition a Gentleman with a servant who came over in the Packet boat had gone amongst the Palatines at the Brill and distributed money and printed Tickets to encourage them to come over, and that many of these tickets were sent to their friends in Germany to persuade them to do the like.

"Mr. Dayralle could never discover who this gentleman was though he endeavored it all he could, and the committee

could come to no certain knowledge therein, but find by two letters that Mr. Henry Torne, a Quaker at Rotterdam, who in all this matter acted under Mr. Dayralle, forced a great many to embark for England after they had provided themselves a passage to go back to their own country, which the Palatines owned upon their arrival, was the only reason that induced them to come".¹

A report of the various attempted settlements follows, and then is given the results of an investigation into the expenses incurred. The total is 135,775£, 18s, 0½d. Of this there had been paid in two different transactions a total of 6289£, 1s, 9d. in bringing Palatines to England. The report closes with the following resolutions:

"Resolved that the House doth agree with the Committee that the petitioners have fully proved the allegations of their petition and had just reason to complain.

"Resolved that the inviting and bringing over into this kingdom the poor Palatines of all religions at the public expense was an extravagant and miserable charge to the kingdom, and a scandalous misapplication of the public money to the increase and oppression of the poor of this kingdom and of dangerous consequences to the constitution in church and state.

"Resolved that whosoever advised the bringing over of the poor Palatines into this kingdom was an enemy to the Queen and to this kingdom".

This investigation after all did not lead to any definite conclusion, the reason for which may perhaps be inferred from a few sentences taken from a pamphlet which was styled "*A Letter to a Gentleman in the Country*"² in which it is written that the committee having sate die in diem for a considerable time and searched into papers from the Commissioners of Trade, etc., among which there is said to be a letter from the E. of S. (Earl of Sunderland) ³ that lets them

¹ Eccl. Rec., vol. III, page 1724 ff.

² Eccl. Rec., vol. III, page 1754.

³ E. of S. could hardly be anyone else as he is mentioned several times in connection with the Palatines. V. H. T.

into the whole mystery of the affair, they made their report to the House and their resolutions in manner and form following which was agreed to by those noble patriots''. (The records omit repeating the report which had been given before). The author then quotes the resolutions which have been given in the preceding paragraphs.

The inference is, of course, that the Earl of Sunderland's letter involved persons whom it would have been impolitic to expose, and that, as a result, the committee chose to save their own reputations by launching brave sounding resolutions at no one in particular, even though they left the matter in a state of official uncertainty. And this was, perhaps, the wisest, if not the most courageous course.

The following extract from a letter which was written from London, July 13, 1708, and which appears as the third appendix to Kocherthal's 1709 edition of his *Bericht* shows that there was official help given in transporting Germans from the Continent to England. . . . „Wir haben aller Orten / durch Gottes Gnade / überauß gutthätige und hülfreiche Leuthe angetroffen. Auß dem Rheinstrohm haben uns unterschiedliche Leuthe etwas an Geld und Brod / zum theil auch Fleisch / Butter / Käse / und einigemal etwas an Kleidungen berehrt / in Roterdam schenkte uns ein Mann allein 40. Holländische Gülden / etliche andere gute Leuthe gaben uns auch unterschiedliches an Geld. Der Stadt-Rath in Roterdam berehrte uns 25 fl. und ließ uns auf ihre Kosten / in einem der Stadt zugehörigen Schiff nach Hellevotischluis bringen. Im Haag haben wir von dem Engelländischen Envoy erhalten / daß uns freyer Paß biß Engelland gegeben wurde / und also seynd wir auß Hellevotischluis in Holland / biß nach Sarwich in Engelland / ohne einigen Hellers Kosten gebracht worden“.¹

Another statement written after the great movement had subsided shows the same thing. This is quoted from Sauer in the *Pennsylvanische Berichte* of December 1, 1754—not so long after the event that he could get accurate information. „Als im Jahre 1804 die frantzösiſche Völcker ins Reich eingezogen, und die Reichs-Fürsten die Anna Königin in Engeland um

¹ Kocherthal, page 77.

Hülfe anriefen, und diese den Duc de Marlborough mit einer großen Armee englischer Völker ins Reich gesandt, durch deren Tapferkeit am 2. Juli die Franzosen bey Schellenberg geschlagen worden, hatte der Kayser und die Reichs-Fürsten die Königin Anna fragen lassen, was sie ihr zur Dankbarkeit vor diesen großen Dienst thun können? Darauff hat die Königin Anna sagen lassen, daß sie von ihren Offizieren und Soldaten erfahren habe, daß sie so viele Arme Leuthe im Reich angetroffen, die ihr Brodt und nöthigen unterhalt nicht haben; es sollen die Reichs-Fürsten ihren, armen Leutthen erlauben, nach Amerika zu ziehen, wo Land genug ist, worauf sie sich erhehren konnten. Dieses haben sie nebst großer Ehr-Bezeugung und Dankbarkeit eingewilligt, und weil das arme Volk keine möglichkeit gesehen dahin zu kommen, so hat die Königin auf ihre eigenen Kosten viele Tausende nach Engeland bringen lassen, und die da wollten nach Amerika ziehen, die wurden Trachtfrey herübergebracht und mit Proviant, Werkzeug und Geräthschaffen versehen".¹

CHAPTER III.

Survey of the final disposal of the Palatines—The English settle great numbers of them in America under conditions which reveal such mercenary motives as to rob the act of most of its claim to charity—Contempt for the Germans shown to be characteristic both in England and America.

Whoever may have been responsible for the coming of the Palatines, there is no doubt about their welcome during the first year of the movement. Besides the public expenditure of 135,775£,² private persons contributed freely both of their time and money for the relief of these poor strangers, and in fact it became the correct thing to have one's name on a subscription list, and the camps at Blackheath and Camberwell became popular promenades for the élite of London. When the Mohawk chiefs visited London, the Palatines were shown them among other sights. Their evident wretchedness touched the hearts of these red men and afforded them an opportunity later to show what true generosity is.

¹ Der Deutsche Pionier, XIV Jahrgang, page 295.

² Eccl. Rec., vol. III, page 1732.

But this charity, excited partly by gratitude for kindnesses¹ shown the English reformers by the Germans, partly by religious sympathy² and political ties; partly by the warm feelings of an impulsive woman and in the case of some, probably by a desire³ to be on the popular side, soon began to be burdensome and annoying when the first pleasure and the novelty of it passed. The Palatines could not camp indefinitely at Camberwell and Blackheath, nor live in the barns provided for them, and various were the schemes proposed for permanently settling them. Beaumont in his letter, which has a very sensible and a kindly tone, would keep them in England and allow them to settle on land that was lacking in tenants, and thus retain them in England to the advantage of all. His plan, however, was never successfully carried out.

About 3000 were settled in one body in Ireland and these for the most part stayed; others⁴ were scattered about over England wherever any parish was willing to receive them for 5*l* per head. But after the 5*l* was received, the refugees were left to shift for themselves among a people who considered them intruders; and most of them came back to London, more wretched if anything than before. The best plan, after all, seemed to be to settle them in America.

The English colonies in America at this time occupied a narrow strip along the Atlantic coast from Massachusetts to the Spanish settlements in Florida, while the interior from the St. Lawrence river to the Gulf of Mexico was claimed, and to some extent settled by the French, who came closest to the English in New York and New England, and there offered a real menace. The French, moreover, being mostly traders, were on better terms with the Indians; they also intermarried with them and adopted many of their habits, while the English held themselves more aloof and as fast as they acquired land cleared it and so spoiled the hunting. But while the Indians beyond the Great Lakes and in the Missis-

¹ Eccl. Rec., vol. III, page 1777.

² Eccl. Rec., vol. III, page 1820.

³ Eccl. Rec., vol. III, page 1753.

⁴ Penn. Ger. Soc., vol. VII, page 314.

sippi valley favored the French, the Iroquois of the New York colony, an important exception in this, were friendly with the English. The French traders, however, were among the Iroquois; their allegiance could not, therefore, be counted on, and one of the most heartless proposals¹ for disposing of the Palatines was "to settle them along the Hudson river in the province of New York where they may be useful to this Kingdom, particularly in the production of naval stores and as a frontier against the French and their Indians". There can be no possible offense taken to the statement that "Her Majesty was convinced that it would be more for the advantage of Her kingdom if a method could be found to settle them here (America) in such a manner that they might get a comfortable livelihood instead of sending them to the West Indies; that it would be a great encouragement to others to follow their example that the addition to the number of her subjects would in all probability produce a proportionally increase of their trade and manufactures".² But the proposal made by the council to take these protestant refugees, who could have no choice in the matter and use them as a buffer against the savages, certainly robs the act of much of its claim to generosity.

The Reverend Mr. Kocherthal went first with a small party. He was followed in 1710 by over 3000³ under Governor Hunter.⁴ They were treated more like slaves than fellow Christians, for they were forced to sign a contract by which they were put under a sort of military discipline and set at the fruitless task of trying to make tar in commercial quantities from northern pines. Their whole time was to be devoted to this industry and they were to be fed and maintained at the Queen's expense. The well meaning but incompetent Governor Hunter had the supervision of the colony. Compelled to work under task masters, who themselves knew nothing of the business, defrauded of their provisions by the

¹ Eccl. Rec., vol. III, page 1703.

² Eccl. Rec., vol. III, page 1733.

³ Eccl. Rec., Vol. III, page 1811.

⁴ Eccl. Rec., Vol. III, page 1814.

contractors, when petition and resistance failed, like the brick makers of Egypt, some of them remembered a promised land, and in the depth of winter, (1711-12) fifty families journeyed to Schoharie and were given the land promised by the generous Mohawk chiefs years before in London. Relieved by these Indians, without whose assistance they must all have perished, the Palatines remained in spite of the threats of the Governor.¹ He "had been the easier under it, upon the consideration that by that means the body of that people is kept together within the Province; that when it shall please her Majesty to resume the design of prosecuting that work, that body at Schoharie may be employed in the vast pine woods near Albany, which they must be obliged to do having no manner of pretense to ye possession of any lands but by performing their part of the contract relating to that manufacture, and that in that situation they may serve in some measure as a frontier to or at least to an increase of the strength of Albany and Schenectady; but if the war continues or should by any misfortune break out again, it will neither be possible for them to subsist or safe for them to remain there, considering the use they have already made of arms where they were intrusted with them".² The first of the statement is clear; the last refers to the resistance they tried to offer in the tar making experiment, and overlooks their loyal services at Louisburg,³ where they served without pay and then were deprived of their arms at the end of the war. In dismissing these Palatines it may be well to add that just as soon as the governors let them alone and gave them a chance, they prospered and became in fact the best possible frontier against the Indians, for they kept the friendship of the red men. And certainly Conrad Weiser's activity among the Iroquois during the French and Indian war, by which he kept them loyal to England, did as much to protect the frontiers as though the German colony had engaged in hostilities

¹ Eccl. Rec., vol. III, page 2169. A most interesting document being the petition presented to the Crown in 1720. It reviews the conditions of the Palatines in New York from 1709 to 1720.

² Eccl. Rec., vol. III, page 1965.

³ Eccl. Rec., vol. III, page 2169.

against the Indians and suffered the usual hazards of border warfare. The following from Lawson's Journal shows that the English and Americans considered these foreigners very useful, especially in that they might bear the brunt of the savage raids in time of war.¹ Speaking of the projected Swiss colony from Bern and Mr. Mitchell who was employed to settle the colonists, he says: "This Gentleman has been employed by the Canton of Bern to find out a Tract of Land in the English America, where that Republick might settle some of their people; which Proposal, I believe, is now in a fair way towards a Conclusion between her Majesty of Great Britain and that Canton. Which must needs be of great Advantage to both; and as for ourselves, I believe, no Man that is in his Wits, and understands the Situation and Affairs of America, but will allow, nothing can be of more security and Advantage to the Crown and subjects of Great Britain, than to have our Frontiers secured by a Warlike People, and our Friends, as the Switzers are; especially when we have more Indians than we can civilize, and so many Christian Enemies lying on the back of us, that we do not know how long or short a time it may be, before they visit us".

Even as late as 1733² according to William Byrd, the Indians were a real menace in Virginia; and one of the reasons he gives for encouraging a Swiss colony to settle in his "Land of Eden" was the protection they would afford against the Indians and the French. Moreover, he preferred for his purpose the honest Swiss to the settlers who were coming in from Pennsylvania.

Whether or not such use was made of the particular colony in which we are at present interested let the following extracts show.

"The Governor acquainting the Council that Sundry Germans to the number of forty-two men, women and children who were invited hither by the Baron de Graffenried are now arrived but that the said Baron not being here to take care of this Settlement the Governor therefore proposed to set-

¹ Lawson's Journal, page 206.

² The writings of Colonel William Byrd, pages 300, 302, 390 ff.

tle them above the falls of Rappahannock River to serve as a barrier to the inhabitants of that part of the Country against the Incursions of the Indians and desiring the opinion of the Council whether in consideration of their usefulness for that purpose the Charge of building them a Fort, and clearing a road to their settlement and carrying thither two pieces of Canon and some ammuniion may not properly be defrayed by the publick.

“It is the unanimous opinion of this Board that the settlement, tending so much to the Security of that part of the Frontiers, it is reasonable that the expense proposed by the Governor in making thereof should be defrayed at the public charge of the Government, and that a quantity of powder and ball be delivered for their use out of her Majesty’s magazine. And because the sd. Germans, arriving so late cannot possibly this year cultivate any ground for the (ir) Subsistence, much less be able to pay the publick levies of the Government, It is the opinion of this Board that they be put under the denomination of Rangers to exempt them from that charge, and for the better enabling the sd Germans to supply by hunting the want of other provisions. It also ordered that all other persons be restrained from hunting on unpatented Lands near the Settlement”¹

“To the L’ds Comm’rs of Trade. July 21st, 1714.

My Lords:

Since my last of the 9th of March, (whereof the enclosed is a Duplicate) I have had the hon’r to receive y’r Lo’ps of the 6th of April, with the Treatys of Peace and Commerce, which I have accordingly made public. It is with great satisfaction that I can acquaint y’r Lo’ps that this Country enjoys a perfect peace, and that even the Indians, since the last Treaty made with them, have not offered the least disturbance, notwithstanding the Tuscaros, induced thereto, (as they say) by the people of Carolina, have departed from their agreements with this Governm’t, and gon(e) to settle once more upon that Province, I continue, all resolv’d, to settle out our Tributary Indians as a guard to ye Frontiers, and

¹ Virginia Magazine, vol. XIII, page 362.

in order to supply that part, w'ch was to have been covered by the Tuscaruros, I have placed here a number of Protestant Germans, built them a fort and finished it with two pieces of Cannon and some Ammunition, which will awe the Stragling partys of Northern Indians, and be a good Barrier for all that part of the Country. These Germans were invited over, some years ago, by the Baron de Graffenried, who has her Majesty's Letter to ye Government of Virginia to furnish them with Land upon their arrival. They are generally such as have been employed in their own country as Miners, and say they are satisfied there are divers kinds of minerals in those upper parts of the Country where they are settled, and even a good appearance of Silver Oar, ...''¹

Virginia, Feb'y 7, 1715.

"To the L'ds Cocc'rs of Trade and Plantation: (1716).

... 'As to the other Settlement, named Germanna, there are about forty Germans, Men, Women, and Children, who, having quitted their native Country upon the invitation of the Herr Graffenriedt, and being grievously dissappointed by his failure to perform his Engagements to them, and they arriving also here just at a time when the Tuscaruro Indians departed from the Treaty they had made with this Government to settle upon its Northern Frontiers, I did, both in Compassion to those poor Strangers and in regard to the safety of the Country, place them together upon a piece of Land, several Miles without the Inhabitants, where I built them Habitations, and subsisted them untill they were able, by their own Labour, to provide for themselves, and I presume I may, without a Crime or Misdemeanor, endeavor to put them in an honest way of paying their Just Debts ...''²

This policy, pursued so consistently in New York, Virginia, and Carolina, while doubtless a compliment to German courage and honesty, points to a contempt for them which has continued, in a more or less marked degree, down to the present time. The writer of the history of the Germans in

¹ Spotswood, vol. II, page 70.

² Spotswood, vol. II, page 196. This refers to his employment of them in building and operating his blast furnaces.

Maine found in the state archives that those documents relating to the German colony of Waldo alone were unprinted, although this colony had had a history as interesting and as tragic as Deerfield or Schenectady, and no one can imagine documents relating to these two settlements remaining long unprinted in the public archives. Happily this attitude is changing, due largely to the efforts of the German Americans themselves and new chapters are constantly being added to the story of their part in the making of our country.

PART II.

THE NEWBERN ADVENTURES.

CHAPTER I.

Graffenried's early life.

Christoph von Graffenried, the eldest of several children, was born at Bern, Switzerland, about the first of November, 1661. His father, Anton von Graffenried, was a member of the patrician family of that name, and while not rich in his younger days, he had claims on profitable political positions, but, what is more important, he possessed the ability to succeed and to keep his wealth on a solid and conservative foundation. He was frugal in his expenditures, honest in his business relations, unaffectionate in his family life. He could never understand nor sympathize with Christoph, who had an adventuresome disposition even as a child, and father and son were always more or less estranged. Moreover, Christoph's mother died when the boy was only a few years old, but her place was soon after taken by a stepmother.

At seven years of age Christoph was one of five little boys sent to a Latin teacher who insisted that the pupils speak Latin, and punished infractions of the rule with fines. Judging from the Latin in the German version of his account, the school was not a success in his case, and Anton found the fines he was called upon to pay a grievous hardship. Other offenses brought punishments so severe that the boy ran away to one of his relatives for protection, through whose intercession he was allowed to remain at home.

In 1676 Anton von Graffenried went into partnership with

the foreman and purchased a salt works at Roche. The families were so friendly at the start that the plan was made, very agreeably to the young people, that Christoph should marry the foreman's daughter. But a quarrel arising over the claims of the two fathers in the business, the relation was broken off, never to be renewed.

Not long after this, Sir William Waller, a relative of one of the 'regicides', who had come to Bern for protection, saw the boy and was so impressed by his appearance and manners, that he encouraged him to go to England to try his fortune there, and the father was so far persuaded that he was making plans to send him to England when a better way seemed to present itself. One of Anton's brothers was a chamberlain and captain in the body guard of the Elector of Saxony, and it was hoped that Christoph would be able to get a place at that court through his influence. But the captain died at just this time and the hope was shattered. Christoph then went to school in Geneva. He was still restless, however, and wanted to travel on the 20,000£ which fell to him from his mother. Anton did not approve of the plan but after a violent argument gave his consent for the lad to go under the conduct of a theological student who was to supervise the expenditures as well. The two went to Heidelberg, where Christoph was soon in the politest society, thanks to his family name and his own engaging appearance. His intercourse in the Elector's social circle progressed better than his university studies; and when the story of a duel came to Bern, Anton concluded it was time for his son to change his location. In Leyden, where he next went to study, his law, history and mathematics progressed better, and he stayed two years.

Through Sir William Waller's influence Anton now allowed his son to go to England, where he was promised a position with Mr. Roux, secretary to the Duke of Carlyle on his embassy to Constantinople. Since the father expected Sir William to advance what money Christoph would need, no money accompanied the letter of introduction; and when the young Switzer landed in London, ten ducats was all he had

in his pockets. At this time he did not speak English, and it was only by chance that he found a German porter who could understand him. With such directions as this man could give him, he found Sir William Waller's house. Lady Waller met him and from her manner he could guess that nothing was to be expected from Sir William, who was at that time in the Fleet for debt.¹ Through the porter Grafenried learned that the Duke had already gone to Constantinople, and all hopes of an appointment disappeared. This same porter also introduced him to a Swiss locksmith by the name of Engel, with whom he stayed until money arrived from Bern. Thereupon he took lodging with Pastor Horneg, chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough, and not long after was introduced into the society of the Duke by a German friend, a trumpet major in the army; and from this time he moved in the society of courtiers and was even presented to King Charles II himself.

In 1682 the Duke of Albemarle, chancellor of Cambridge University, was not able to be present at the conferring of degrees and sent two of his friends, Farwel and Graffenried, to represent him. And we may judge of the favor and popularity of the latter when we learn that to his astonishment the doctorate was offered him. He refused, however, saying that he was not worthy, since he had not studied for such a degree, but that he would accept a degree of Master of Arts, according to the proverb, *In omnibus aliquid, in toto nihil*.

Meanwhile Graffenried had fallen in love with a niece of the Duke of Buckingham, a lady of good birth but poor family. Money and station were, nevertheless, necessary to succeed in the courtship of a lady of rank; and so he planned to buy a vacant commission as cornet in the British army. This would cost a thousand pounds, but would pay well when secured and would enable him to pursue his courtship with some prospect of success. A letter to Bern asking for money and for permission to take this place was answered by a summons to start for home immediately, with the pen-

¹ Luttrell, vol. I, pp. 84 and 91. This was between the 11th and 25th of May, 1681.

alty of losing his prerogatives and right to act as his grandfather's substitute in the government at Worb, in case he refused. Not even money for the whole journey was allowed him, but his way was paid stage by stage through designated persons. All this was caused by a false report spread by one of his own countrymen, to the effect that he was acting the spendthrift, and Anton learned the truth too late to repair the injury entirely. It was no use to go back to England now, and with his father's permission, Christoph stayed a year in France. His social success was as great here as it had been in England. Reports of him reached Louis XIV and Graffenried had the pleasure of meeting both the Dauphin and the great king. After this he spent some time in Lyons and finally reached home some time about 1683. Reproaches for the wasted time and money were not lacking, and Anton decided it was time for the son to marry, and settle down in an office. Christoph showed no enthusiasm for marriage and left the choice largely to his relatives, with the result that he married Regine Tscharner in 1684. On this occasion Anton showed himself so niggardly that the groom had to lend him money with which to buy presents and hire the carriage himself.

It was hoped that the grandfather would now assist Christoph to an office, but the old gentleman died too soon and Christoph was several years obtaining even a minor appointment. At length, however, he became bailiff of Iferton in Neuchâtel in 1702. This had the reputation of being a lucrative position, but the festivities which custom compelled him to give on his induction into office, reduced the profits of the first year; and the next year during the religious troubles Iferton had to support a garrison. The bailiff had to keep open house for officers; besides other officials and friends came to pay him their respects, and these merry, but expensive occasions were a heavy drain upon his resources. For out of 200 dubloons spent, only fifty were repaid him by the state. Graffenried also had a feeling for the peasants, and did not wring as much from them as he might have done, and as was the usual practice of bailiffs. Meanwhile his

family was increasing. He made bad speculations, gave securities, and contracted debts until prospects of a catastrophe began to loom up before him when his term of office should end in 1708. The strife over Neuchâtel, the violation of the peace by the war of the Spanish succession, the troubles between the Protestant and the Catholic cantons, and the continual persecutions of the Anabaptists made his home distasteful to him, the ambitions of his youth returned with a renewed force, and now he determined to seek in America the fortune which was denied him at home.

The account of his life thus far, taken mostly from papers in the Graffenried family,¹ by one of his descendants, shows that Christoph von Graffenried was no ordinary man. He had the ability of making friends, and inspired confidence in people. He had an acute mind, and above all, possessed the love of adventure necessary to the success of such an undertaking as that on which he was embarking. The failure of his plans must be laid, not to him, but to circumstances over which he had no control, and which he could not, by any possibility, have foreseen.

CHAPTER II.

Literature which Graffenried studied before deciding to go to America—Blome—Hennepin—Kocherthal.

Graffenried, we know, had long been considering the bettering of his fortune in America. He had made extensive inquiries about mines, agriculture, and the best means of settling there, and the authors he read certainly included Blome, Hennepin, and Kocherthal. Blome gives a brief description of all the English colonies, and speaks favorably of them. Hennepin, among other things, has this to say of Carolina: "So that the Providence of the Almighty God seems to have reserv'd this country for the English, a Patent whereof was granted Fifty years ago to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, who have made great Discoveries therein, seven hundred Miles Westerly from the Mountains, which separate between it Carolina and Virginia, and Six hundred Miles from North

¹ Neujahrsblatt, page 4 ff.

to South, from the Gulf of Mexico to the great Inland Lakes, which are situated behind the Mountains of Carolina and Virginia. Besides, they have an account of all the Coast, from the Cape of Florida to the River Panuco, the Northerly Bounds of the Spaniards on the Gulf of Mexico, together with most of the chief Harbours, Rivers, and Islands thereunto appertaining; and are about to establish a very considerable Colony on some part of the Great River, as soon as they have agreed upon the Boundaries, or Limits, which Lords Proprietors of Carolina, who claim by a Patent procur'd long after that of Carolina. But there being space enough for both, and the Proprietors generally inclin'd to an amicable conclusion, the Success of this undertaking is impatiently expected. For considering the Benignity of the Climate, the Healthfulness of the Country, the Fruitfulness of the Soil, Ingenuity and Tractableness of the Inhabitants, Variety of Productions, if prudently manag'd, it cannot, humanely speaking, fail of proving one of the most considerable Colonies on the North-Continent of America, profitable to the Publick and to the Undertakers.¹

Other accounts of Carolina,² all favorable, but less entertainingly written, by Horne, Smith, by one T. A. (probably Thomas Ashe), and by Archdale had appeared before this: and Graffenried may have been acquainted with some or all of these. Kocherthal's *Bericht* was undoubtedly the most influential book among German speaking people, having reached the fourth edition in 1709. It contains a rather detailed description of the country, plants, animals, and products, and has little but praise for the new country. On the subject of greatest concern, the danger from the Indians, it reads as follows:³

Mit denen Indianern leben auch die Engliſchen allda in vollkommener Freundschaft und gutem Vernehmen in dem ſie beiderſeits einander gar nützlich und zuträglich ſeyn: und tragen die Lords / ſo Eigenthums Herrn dieſes Landes ſind / gute Sorg-

¹ New Discovery of a vast Country in America. Reprinted by Thwaites page 672.

² Carroll's Collections, vol. II.

³ Kocherthal, page 57.

falt / daß ihnen nichts unbilliges zugefügt werde. Sie haben zu solchem Ende ein sonderliches Gerichte angeordnet und bestellet / welches aus denen Bescheidensten und dem Eigen-Nutz am wenigsten ergebenden Einwohnern bestehet: worinnen denn alle die Streitigkeiten beigelegt werden sollen / so sich etwa zwischen denen Englischen und irgend einem von den Indianern zutragen möchten welches sie bloß auß einer Christlichen und vernünftig billigen Bewegung gethan / keineswegs aber darum / als ob man sich etwa einiger Gefahr von ihnen zu besorgen hätte.

Es sind nemlich die Indianer bißanhero stetig untereinander so im Kriege verwickelt gewesen . . . daß selbige diesem Volk nicht zugelassen haben, sich sonderlich zu vermehren oder zuzunehmen . . . Dieses verursacht demnach / daß die an Mannschaft so schwach / auch über diß so zerteilet bleiben / daß die Englischen von ihnen nicht die allergeringste Furcht haben / oder sich einiger Gefahr besorgen dörffen / . . .

With all natural conditions so favorable and no harm to be feared from the natives, it is not to be wondered at that America and particularly Carolina was very attractive to Graffenried.

CHAPTER III.

*Another Colonization Project—Graffenried meets the Agent—
 Franz Louis Michel—Fully persuaded to go to America—
 Graffenried leaves for England and meets John Lawson.*

While Graffenried was still in Switzerland the Canton of Bern had begun to negotiate through a former citizen of Bern, Franz Louis Michel, for land in North Carolina¹ and Virginia.² They requested to be allowed to hold whatever tract they should buy independently of either the Proprietors of Carolina or the Governor of Virginia.³ Since such a request could not, of course, be granted, nothing definite was done concerning purchase. An independent colonization project was started however, the chief member of which was a man named Ritter.⁴

¹ Lawson's Journal, page 205-6 ff.

² French version.

³ French Version.

⁴ Neujahrsblatt, page 21. Bernische Täufer, page 258.

In 1708 Michel was back in Bern¹ again and from him Graffenried informed himself more fully about conditions in America, and Michel's favorable reports fully persuaded him to go to the New World. His plan had no connection as yet with the colonization schemes of the Canton of Bern or the Ritter Company, as will be shown later. All he had in mind was to go over to America, and following Michel's directions and maps, to find the deposits of silver ore, which he, together with Michel, expected to work for their own profit, using for this purpose miners from Germany, who should be engaged before he left, but who were not to emigrate until he sent for them.² Accordingly, when his term of office ended in 1708,³ Graffenried left Switzerland secretly, not even telling his friends of his plans, and went first to Holland and then to England. While in Holland, or on his way there, he engaged twelve miners to come to him when he should send for them.⁴

During his stay in England Graffenried became acquainted with Michel's friend John Lawson, who was having the account of his travels in Carolina printed. None of the descriptions with which Graffenried was acquainted, except Hennepin's, compare in interest and freshness with Lawson's Journal. He had been eight years in Carolina, and had taken a thousand mile journey from Charleston to a point near the present site of Newbern, making, however, a wide circuit in which he ascended the Santee River to its sources, and then turned northward, crossing the upper waters of the Congaree, Wateree, and Yadkin Rivers, then bearing more to the east until he reached the Moratoc, now the Roanoke River, some 120 miles above its mouth.

From this point he went southward, almost to Chatoka, now Newbern. This trip gave him a good idea of the country and its inhabitants, at least Graffenried must have thought so, and furthermore, he confirmed Michel's reports about the presence of silver ore.

¹ French Version, German Version.

² French Version, German Version.

³ Neujahrsblatt, page 17.

⁴ French Version, German Version.

The passages and abstracts from Lawson's book which follow will give an idea of his style and the kind of arguments that doubtless influenced Graffenried to go to Carolina rather than to Virginia as he intended at first to do. As copies of the book are very rare and not easily accessible, and Lawson was from this time on so intimately associated with Graffenried, I have made the quotations and extracts rather full.

CHAPTER IV.

John Lawson and his Journal.

Lawson began his journey of exploration December 28, 1700. There were six Englishmen, three Indian men and an Indian woman, the wife of one of the guides, in the party. They canoed from Charleston to the Santee River, up which they rowed several days, and as occasion required enjoyed the hospitality of the French settlers along the river. The following extracts will show how he livened up his description.

“Monday. The next morning very early we ferry'd over a Creek that runs near the House; and, after an Hour's Travel in the Woods, we came to the River-side, where we stay'd for the Indian, who was our Guide, and was gone around by Water in a small Canoe, to meet us at the Place we rested at. He came after a small time and ferry'd us in that little Vessel over Santee River 4 Miles, and 84 Miles in the Woods, which the overflowing of the Freshes, which then came down, had made a perfect Sea of, there running an incredible Current in the River, which had cast our small Craft and us away, had we not had this Sewee Indian with us; who are excellent Artists in managing these small Canoes.

“Santee River, at this time, (from the usual Depth of Water) was risen perpendicular 36 Foot, always making a Breach from her Banks, about this Season of the Year. The general Opinion of the cause thereof, is suppos'd to proceed from the overflowing of fresh Water-Lakes that lie near the Head of this River, and other upon the same Continent; But my Opinion is, that these vast Inundations proceed from the

great and repeated Quantities of Snow that falls upon the Mountains, which lie at so great a Distance from the Sea, therefore they have no Help of being dissolv'd by those saline, piercing Particles, as other adjacent Parts near the Ocean receives: and therefore lies and increases to a vast Bulk, until some mild Southerly Breezes coming on a sudden, continue to unlock these frozen Bodies, congeal'd by the North-West Wind: dissipating them in Liquids: and coming down with Impetuosity, fills those Branches that feed these Rivers, and causes this strange Deluge, which oft-times lays under Water for Miles distant from the Banks: tho' the French and Indians affirmed to me they never knew such extraordinary Floods there before.

"We all by God's Blessing and the Endeavors of our Indian-Pilot, pass'd safe over the River, but was lost in the Woods which seem'd like some great Lake, except here and there a Knowl of high Land, which appear'd above water.

"We intended for Mons. Galliar's, jun; but was lost, none of us knowing the Way at that Time, altho' the Indian was born in the Country, it having receiv'd so strange a Metamorphosis. We were in several Opinions concerning the right way, the Indian and myself, suppos'd the House to bear one Way, the rest thought to the contrary; we differing, it was agreed amongst us that one half should go with the Indian to find the House and the other part to stay upon one of these dry Spots, until some of them returned to us, and inform'd us where it lay.

"Myself and two more were left behind, by Reason the Canoe would not carry us all: we had but one Gun amongst us, one Load of Ammunition, and no Provision. Had our Men in the Canoe miscarry'd, we must (in all Probability) there have perish'd.

"In about six Hour's Time, from our Mens Departure, the Indian came back to us in the Same Canoe he went in, being half drunk, which assur'd us they had found some Place of Refreshment. He took us three into the canoe, telling us all was well: Paddling our Vessel several Miles thro' the Woods, being often half full of water; but at length we got

safe to the Place we sought for, which prov'd to lie the same Way the Indian and I guess'd it did.¹"

Another Short Extract speaking of the Indians.

"Amongst Women it seems impossible to find a scold; if they are provok'd, or affronted, by their Husbands, or some other, they resent the Indignity offer'd them in silent Tears, or by refusing their Meat. Would some of our European Daughters of Thunder set these Indians for a Pattern, there might be more quiet Families found amongst them, occasion'd by that unruly Member, the Tongue.²

"A Second Settlement of this Country was made about fifty years ago, in that part we now call Albemarle County and chiefly in Chuwon Precinct, by several substantial Planters from Virginia and other Plantations; Who finding mild winters, and a fertile Soil beyond Expectation, producing that which was planted to a prodigious Increase, their Cattle, Horses, Sheep and Swine breeding very fast, and passing the Winter without any Assistance from the Planter: so that everything seem'd to come by Nature, the Husbandman living almost devoid of Care, and free from those Fatigues which are absolutely requisite in Winter-Countries, for providing Fodder and other Necessaries; these Encouragements induced them to stand their Ground altho' but a handful of People, seated at great Distances one from another, and amidst a vast number of Indians of different Nations, who were then in Carolina. Nevertheless, I say, the Fame of this new discovered Summer-Country spread through the neighboring Colonies, and in a few Years, drew a considerable number of Families thereto, who all found Land enough to settle themselves in (had there been many Thousands more) and that which was very good and commodiously seated, both for Profit and Pleasure. And indeed, most of the Plantations in Carolina naturally enjoy a noble Prospect of large and spacious Rivers, pleasant Savannas and fine Meadows with their green Liveries, interwoven with beautiful Flowers, of most glorious Colours, which the several Seasons afford; hedged in with pleasant Groves of the ever-famous Tulip-tree, the

¹ Lawson's Journal, page 4 ff.

² Lawson's Journal, page 37.

stately Laurel, and Bays, equalizing the Oak in Bigness and Growth; Myrtles, Jessamines, Woodbines, Honeysuckles, and several other fragrant Vines and Ever-Greens, whose aspiring Branches shadow and interweave themselves with the loftiest Timbers, yielding a pleasant Prospect, Shade and Smell, proper Habitations for the Sweet-singing Birds, that melodiously entertain such as travel thro' the Woods of Carolina.

“The Planters possessing all these Blessings, and the Produce of great Quantities of Wheat and Indian Corn in which this Country is very fruitful as likewise in Beef, Pork, Tallow, Hides, Deer-Skins and Furs; for these Commodities the New-England-Men and Bermudians visited Carolina in their Barks and Sloops, and carry'd out what they made, bringing them in exchange Rum, Sugar, Salt, Molasses and some wearing Apparel, tho' the last at very extravagant Prices.

“As the Land is very fruitful, so are the Planters kind and hospitable to all that come to visit them; there being very few Housekeepers, but what live very nobly, and give away more provisions to Coasters and Guests who come to see them, than they expend amongst their own Families.¹

“When we consider the Latitude and convenient Situation of Carolina, had we no farther Confirmation thereof, our Reason would inform us, that such a Place lay fairly to be a delicious Country, being placed in that Girdle of the World which affords Wine, Oil, Fruit, Grain, Silk with other rich Commodities, besides a sweet Air, moderate Climate, and fertile Soil; these are the Blessings (under Heaven's Protection) that spin out the Thread of life to its utmost Extent, and Crown our Days with the Sweets of Health and Plenty, which, when join'd with Content, renders the Possessors the happiest Race of Men upon Earth.

“The Inhabitants of Carolina, thro' the Richness of the Soil, live an easy and pleasant Life. The Land being of several sorts of Compost, some stiff, others light, some marl, others rich black Mould; here barren of Pine, but affording Pitch, tar and Masts; there vastly rich, especially on the

¹ Lawson's Journal, page 62 ff.

Freshes of the Rivers, one part bearing great Timbers, others being Savannas or natural Meads, where no trees grow for several Miles, adorn'd by Nature with a pleasant Verdure, and beautiful Flowers, frequent in no other Places, yielding abundance of Herbage for Cattle, Sheep and Horse. The Country in general affords pleasant Seats, the Land (except in some few Places) being dry and high Banks, parcell'd out into most convenient Necks, (by the Creeks) easy to be fenced in for securing their Stocks to more strict Boundaries, whereby, with a small trouble of fencing, almost every man may enjoy, to himself, an entire Plantation, or rather Park. These with the other Benefits of Plenty of Fish, Wild Fowl, Venison, and other Conveniences which the Summer-Country naturally furnishes, has induc'd a great many Families to leave the more Northerly Plantations, and sit down under one of the mildest Governments in the World; in a Country that, with moderate Industry, will afford all the Necessaries of Life. We have yearly abundance of Strangers come among us, who chiefly strive to the Southerly to settle because there is a vast Tract of rich Land betwixt the Place we are seated on, and Cape-Fair, and upon that River, and more Southerly, which is inhabited by none but a few Indians, who are at this time well affected to the English, and very desirous of their coming to live among them. The more Southerly, the milder Winters, with the advantage of purchasing the Lords Land at the most easy and moderate Rate of any Lands in America, nay (allowing all advantages thereto annex'd) I may say, the Universe does not afford such another; Besides, Men have a great Advantage of choosing good and commodious Tracts of Land at the first Seating of a Country or River, where as the later Settlers are forced to purchase smaller Dividends of the old Standers, and sometimes at very considerable Rates; as now in Virginia and Maryland, where a thousand Acres of good Land cannot be bought under twenty Shillings an Acre, besides two Shillings yearly Acknowledgement for every hundred Acres; which Sum, be it more or less, will serve to put the Merchant or Planter here into a good Posture of Buildings, Slaves, and other Ne-

cessaries, where the Purchase of his Land comes to him on such easy Terms. And as our Grain and pulse thrives with us to admiration, no less do our Stocks of Cattle, Horses, Sheep, and Swine multiply.¹

“The Christian Natives of Carolina are a straight, clean-limb’d People; the Children being seldom or never troubled with Ricketts, or those other Distempers, that the Europeans are visited withal. ’Tis next to a Miracle to see one of them deformed in Body. The Vicinity of the Sun makes Impression on the Men, who labour out of doors, or use the Water. As for those Women, that do not expose themselves to the Weather, they are often very fair, and generally as well featur’d, as you shall see anywhere, and have very brisk charming Eyes, which sets them off to Advantage. They marry very young; Some at Thirteen or Fourteen; and She that stays ’till Twenty is reckoned a stale Maid; which is a very indifferent Character in that warm Country. The Women are very fruitful; most Houses being full of Little Ones. It has been observ’d that Women long marry’d, and without Children, in other Places, have remov’d to Carolina and become joyful Mothers. They have very easy Travail in their Child-bearing, in which they are so happy, as seldom to miscarry. Both Sexes are generally spare of Body, and not Cholerick, nor easily cast down at Disappointment and Losses, seldom immoderately grieving at Misfortunes, unless for the Loss of their nearest Relations and Friends, which seems to make a more than ordinary Impression upon them. Many of the Women are very handy in Canoes, and will manage them with great Dexterity and Skill, which they become accustomed to in this watery Country. They are ready to help their Husbands in any servile Work, as Planting, when the Season of the Weather requires Expedition; Pride seldom banishing good Housewifery. The Girls are not bred up to the Wheel and Sewing only; but the Dairy and Affairs of the House they are very well acquainted withal; so that you shall see them, whilst very young, manage their Business with a great deal of Conduct and Alacrity. The Children of both

¹ Lawson’s Journal, page 79 ff.

Sexes are very docile, and learn anything with a great deal of Ease and Method; and those that have the Advantages of Education, write good Hands, and prove good accountants, which is most coveted, and indeed most necessary in these Parts. The young Men are commonly of a bashful, sober Behavior; few proving Prodigals, to consume what the Industry of their Parents has left them, but commonly improve it. . . .¹

I shall add this: That with prudent Management, I can affirm, by Experience, not by Hear-say, that any Person, with a small Beginning, may live very comfortably, and not only provide for the Necessaries of Life but likewise for those that are to succeed him. . . .²

“Moreover it is remarkable, that no Place on the Continent of America has seated an English Colony so free from Bloodshed as Carolina; but all the others, have been more damag’d and disturb’d by the Indians than they have, which is worthy Notice, when one considers how oddly it was first planted with Inhabitants. . . .³

“Great Plenty is generally the Ruin of Industry. Thus our Merchants are not many, nor have those few there be, apply’d themselves to the European Trade. The Planter sits contented at home, whilst his Oxen thrive and grow fat, and his Stocks daily increase; the fatted Porkets and Poultry are easily raised to his Table, and his Orchard affords him Liquor so that he eats, and drinks away the Cares of the World and desires no greater Happiness, than that which he daily enjoys. Whereas, not only the European, but also the Indian-Trade might be carried on to great profit, because we lie as fairly for the Body of Indians, as any Settlement in English-America; and for the small trade that has been carried on in the Way, the Dealers therein have throve as fast as any Men, and the soonest raised themselves of any People I have known in Carolina.⁴ . . .

¹ Lawson’s Journal, page 84.

² Lawson’s Journal, page 86.

³ Lawson’s Journal, page 86.

⁴ Lawson’s Journal, page 86 ff.

“One great advantage of North Carolina is that we are not a Frontier, and near the Enemy; which proves very chargeable and troublesome, in time of War, to those Colonies that are so seated. Another great Advantage comes from its being near Virginia, where we come often to a good Market, at the Return of the Guinea-Ships for Negro’s, and the Remnant of their Stores, which is very commodious for the Indian trade.¹

“Therefore as my Intent was, I proceed to what remains of the Present State of Carolina, having already accounted for the Animals, and Vegetables, as far as this Volume would allow of; whereby the Remainder, though not exactly known, may yet be guess’d at, if we consider what Latitude Carolina lies in, which reaches from 29 to 36 deg., 30 min. Northern Latitude, as I have before observ’d. Which Latitude is as fertile and pleasant, as any in the World, as well as for the Produce of Minerals, Fruit, Grain, and Wine, as other rich Commodities. And indeed, all the Experiments that have been made in Carolina, of the Fertility and natural Advantages of the Country, have exceeded all Expectation, as affording some Commodities, which other Places, in the same Latitude, do not. As for Minerals, as they are subterraneous Products, so, in all new Countries, they are the Species that are last discover’d; and especially in Carolina, where the Indians never look for any thing lower than the Superficies of the Earth, being a Race of Men the least addicted to delving of any People that inhabit so fine a Country as Carolina is. As good if not better Mines than those of the Spaniards in America, lie full West from us; and I am certain, we have Mountainous Land, and as great Probability of having rich Minerals in Carolina, as any of those Parts are already found to be so rich therein. But, waving this subject, till some other Opportunity, I shall now give you some Observations in general, concerning Carolina; which are, first, that it lies as convenient for trade as any of the Plantations in America.”²

¹ Lawson’s Journal, page 88 ff.

² Lawson’s Journal, page 163.

The Healthfulness of the Country is praised next. He says that gout is rare and consumption they are wholly strangers to.

The trade with Virginia is good, for ships visiting there provision themselves from the products of Carolina and give bills of exchange for England which are as good as Sterling money, and while Tobacco may be very cheap at times provisions are always in demand. Besides the Carolinians can get to market when the northern colonies are frozen up. The Sand banks protect the coast from enemies, yet allow trading vessels to approach.¹

“If a Man be a Botanist, here is a plentiful Field of Plants to divert him in; if he be a Gardner, and delight in that pleasant and happy Life, he will meet with a Climate and Soil, that will further and promote his Designs, in as great a Measure, as any Man can wish for; and as for the Constitution of this Government, it is so mild and easy, in respect to the Properties and Liberties of a Subject, that without rehearsing the Particulars, I say once for all, it is the mildest and best established Government in the World, and the Place where any Man may peaceably enjoy his own, without being invaded by another. Rank and Superiority ever giving place to Justice and Equity which is the Golden Rule that every Government ought to be built upon, and regulated by. Besides, it is worthy our Notice, that this Province has been settled, and continued the most free from the Insults and Barbarities of the Indians, of any Colony that was ever yet seated in America; which must be esteemed as a particular Providence of God handed down from Heaven, to these People; especially when we consider, how irregularly they settled North Carolina, and yet how undisturb’d they have remain’d, free from any Foreign Danger or Loss, even to this very Day. And what may well be looked upon for as great a Miracle, this is a Place, where no Malefactors are found, deserving Death, or even a Prison for Debtors; there being no more than two Persons, that, so far as I have been able to learn, ever suffer’d as Criminals, although it has been a Settlement

¹ Lawson’s Journal, page 164, 64. A summary.

near sixty years; One of whom was a Turk that committed Murder; the other, an old Woman, for Witchcraft. These, 'tis true were on the Stage and acted many Years, before I knew the Place; but as for the last, I wish it had been undone to this Day; although they give a great many Arguments to justifie the Deed, which I should rather they should have a hand in, than myself; feeling I could never approve of taking Life away upon such Accusations, the Justice whereof I could never yet understand.¹

“But to return to the Subject in Hand; we there make extraordinary good Bricks throughout the Settlement. All sorts of Handicrafts, as Carpenters, Joiners, Masons, Plasterers, Shooemakers, Tanners, Taylors, Weavers, and most others may, with small Beginnings, and God's Blessing, thrive very well in this Place, and provide Estates for their Children, Land being sold at a much cheaper Rate there, than in any other Place in America, and may, as I suppose, be purchased of the Lords-Proprietors here in England, or of the Gouvernour there for the time being, by any that shall have a mind to transport themselves to that Country. The Farmers that go thither (for which sort of men it is a very thriving place) should take some particular Seeds of Grass, as Trefoil, Clover-grass all sorts, Sanfoin, and Common Grass . . . Hoes of all sorts, Axes, Saws, Wedges, Augurs, Nails Hammers, Tools for Brick and Stonework.”

He compares the price of land which is 1/50 in Carolina of what it is in Virginia with a lower quit rent.

And as there is a free Exercise of all Persuasions amongst Christians, the Lords Proprietors, to encourage Ministers of the Church of England, have given free Land towards the Maintenance of a Church, and especially, for the Parish of S. Thomas in Pampticough, over against the Town, is already laid out for a Glebe of two hundred and twenty three Acres of rich well-situated Land, that a Parsonage House may be built upon.²

It is noticeable, in view of what followed, that none of the accounts referred to show any apprehension of immediate

¹ Lawson's Journal, page 166 ff.

² Lawson's Journal, page 167 ff. Partly a summary.

danger from the Indians, though Spotswood's correspondence and Byrd's writings prove that they recognized that such a menace existed, and one cannot but believe that these accounts glossed over the danger in the attempt to attract settlers.

This is sufficient to show why Graffenried decided to turn towards North Carolina when occasion afforded him the chance. As yet he had no other colonists engaged than his few miners and their families. It was not long though before he had prospect of a considerable increase in the size and dignity of his undertaking.

CHAPTER V.

Graffenried and Michel unite their mining project to the Bern-Ritter colonization company of which Michel is agent—Graffenried made Landgrave—Negotiations for land and settlers—650 Palatines secured—they start in January, 1710—Difficulties in getting the Bern convicts through Holland—Graffenried and Michel secure mining concessions—Discussion of the contract with the George Ritter Company—Assistance promised by the proprietors—Swiss colony starts in the summer of 1710.

The early part of the year 1709 found Graffenried in London, waiting to see what could be done about his intended mines. To a man of active temperament, burdened with debts, and anxious to get something started that would enable him to clear them, the delays of this year must have been most exasperating. His plans so far were only tentative and he was waiting for any better offer that might be made him by any of his friends in England.

His partner, Franz Louis Michel, as has been stated in chapter III, was meanwhile conducting the negotiations for the Ritter Company. This company was also to bring over religious convicts for the Canton of Bern; and so had a semi-official character.¹ On the 28th of April, 1709, Mr. Mitchells Proposals in the name of some of the Swiss Cantons of Bern were read (at Craven House) and it was then agreed that 10,000 Acres of Land on or betwixt News or Cape Fear

¹ Müller, *Bernische Täufer*, page 258.

or their branches in North Carolina should be set out for the Proposers or their heirs they paying to the Lords Proprietors £10 purchase money for each thousand acres and 5 shillings yearly as a quittance for each thousand acres to the Lords Proprietors and their Heirs forever.

Agreed further that 100,000 Acres be reserved to the proposers for 12 years during which term no other person shall purchase any of the same, which said 100,000 Acres are to be set out by the Surveyor General and may be purchased by any of the Proposers at the rate above mentioned during the term of seven years but after that time is expired they are to pay according to the custome of that part of the Province.

And lastly that one of their number be made a Landgrave he paying for 5000 acres the usuall purchase money for each 1000 acres the customary quitrent for every 100 acres to the Lords Proprietors for the same.¹

Meanwhile the influx of Germans into England, treated of in chapters I and II, was beginning. On the 28 of April, the day that Michel's proposals were read, Luttrell mentions that, "the elector palatine, upon many protestant families leaving his domains, and gone for England to be transported to Pennsylvania, has publish'd an order, making it death and confiscation of goods for any of his subjects to quittance their native country".² Some time after this they arrived in England. From this passage, as well as from the encouragement the people themselves received, it is clear that the general notion was that these Germans were to be sent to America. But now with a greater number of people on their hands than they expected, there was difficulty in executing the plan. Schemes were proposed; some suggested Reya de la Plata, Jamaica, the sugar islands, the Canary Islands, New England, Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Jerseys, Maryland, and England itself.³ The Proprietors also wanted to share in any advantage that might be reaped from the foreigners; and

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 707.

² Luttrell, vol. VI, page 435.

³ Eccl. Rec., vol. 3, page 1790.

on July 11 "detailed proposals were made for the encouragement of the palatine's transportation into the province of Carolina".¹ What these proposals were is given in part by Luttrell, July 16, 1709. "The Lords proprietors of Carolina have made proposals to a committee of council to take all the Palatines here from 15 years to 45 years old, and send them to their plantations; but her majestie to be at the charge of transporting them, which will be above 10£ a head".²

While this was under consideration, the proprietors, apparently fully confident of the success of their plan, wished the persons immediately concerned to know about it, and on July 28, they "ordered, that the advertisement printed in the gazette for the palatines' transportation, be printed in High Dutch, for the use of the poor palatines and the rest of the Germans".³

Graffenried could hardly have been a member of the Swiss colonization Company at the time the proposals were made (April 28) or his name would have been given. He was then in London, and well known from his previous life in the court circles of Charles II. The Proprietors were, as ever, anxious to sell an extra 5000 acres of land; and if they could persuade any of the company to buy with such an inducement as a title thrown in, they would gladly do so. It is not strange, then, that shortly after this Graffenried did become a member of the Company, for Michel who was interested with him in the mining project, was also interested in the Bern-Ritter colonization scheme; and a community of interests in one direction would naturally bring the two men together in any other scheme where one was involved. Thus, before anything definite about the Proprietors' proposals for settling the Germans on their land had been made by the committee, Graffenried paid 50£ for 5000 acres (August 4, 1709) and was made a Landgrave.⁴ Of the 5000 acres, 1250 had belonged to Lawson, but what arrangements Lawson had with

¹ Hist. Soc. S. Carolina, vol. I, page 179.

² Luttrell, vol. VI, page 465.

³ Hist. Soc. S. Carolina, vol. I, page 179.

⁴ Col. Rec., Vol. 1, page 717.

the Proprietors is nowhere given. But the important thing is that from this time on Graffenried, who had not been mentioned in the preceding proposals, is the most prominent member in the Company.

The committee, having considered the proposals made on July 11, were still unable to make any decision; and on the 11th of August the Proprietors gave a few more details of their plan. At that time they had decided to give the poor Palatines who should have a mind to settle in Carolina, whether man, woman, or child, 100 acres of land each, free from quit-rent for ten years, after which they were to pay one penny per acre yearly; or if they should settle in towns, they were to have lands to build upon for three lives, or 99 years, with opportunity for renewal.¹

These proposals from the Proprietors had not borne any fruit as yet, when arrangements were made between Graffenried, Michel, and the Proprietors to take the place of Michel's arrangement of April 28. On the 3 of September, 100,000 acres were granted to Graffenried and his heirs, and it was agreed to sell Michel 3500 acres.² From the contract with the Georg Ritter Company we know, however, that the 10,000 acres were for the society and Graffenried himself owned but 5000 acres in his own private right.

On the 22d of September 1709, a warrant was signed at Craven House for only 2500 acres to Michel,³ and this is the amount he is credited with in the contract. In the French version Graffenried claims to have paid for 15,000 acres on the Neuse and Trent Rivers and 2500 on the Weetock. The delays Michel's negotiations had suffered, and the statement in the contract that Ritter had advanced considerable sums,⁴ along with Graffenried's statement above, make it seem probable that Ritter advanced the money to Graffenried for all but Graffenried's own 5000 acres, and that Graffenried actually paid it over to the Duke of Beaufort at Craven House.

¹ Hist. Soc. S. Carolina, vol. 1, page 157.

² Col. Rec., vol. 1, page 718.

³ Col. Rec., vol. 1, page 718 ff.

⁴ German Version, Contract.

However this may be, he appears to have been responsible for the full 17,500 after the settlement was made.

Later in the year the propositions of the Proprietors to take charge of the Palatines found a better reception, for on the 10th of October it was allowed to Graffenried and Michel to take 600 of them, making about 92 families. Eleven days later 50 more persons were added.¹ Graffenried had the choosing of these and he picked out young, healthy, and industrious persons of various trades. The only lack, then, was a minister, and Graffenried was empowered by the Bishop of London to exercise the two important functions for a young colony, marriage and baptism.² The Queen promised 5*l* 10 shillings for each emigrant to pay for their passage and gave each 20 shillings worth of clothes as a present.³

The colonists were secured against fraud by a bond for 5000*l* which Graffenried was required to give to the commissioners, for the faithful performance of his obligations.⁴ But for some reason there was a long delay in sending the colony after the contract with the committee had been signed, and it was not till January, 1710, that they finally departed for America.⁵

Things were not moving any more rapidly for the Swiss portion of the settlers. The first company of these, numbering about one hundred persons, left Bern March 8, 1710.⁶ To them there were to have been added at some stage of the journey, the 56 convicts, men who had been in prison now two years because of their Anabaptist views. Passes through England had already been secured, but it was not until March 12 that the Swiss Ambassador to Holland, St. Saphorin, was instructed to get the consent and assistance of the Dutch authorities in bringing the prisoners on their way.⁷

¹ Col. Rec., vol. 1, 986.

² German Version, French Version.

³ Col. Rec., vol. 1, page 986.

⁴ German Version, Report.

⁵ French Version, German Version.

⁶ German Version, Letters.

⁷ Bernische Taeufer, page 259.

On March 18 the little band of convicts started by boat from Bern under Michel's care. The States General had not yet given their consent and showed no signs of doing so, as they had no sympathy with the Anabaptist persecutions, for in Holland people of this sect were welcomed on account of their industry and orderly lives.

Difficulties arose, however, to prevent the execution of the design. On the way down the Rhine just one half of the number became too sick to proceed further, and had to be left in the Palatinate. The most tactful diplomacy the Ambassador could use failed to effect aid from the States General, for by the laws of Holland these prisoners on reaching Dutch territory would thereby become free. And the Dutch authorities determined to see the law enforced. If these people of their free will wished to go to America, nothing would be laid in the way, but they could not be brought through Holland as prisoners. An attempt to have the English Ambassador Townshend use his influence in favor of the deportation failed also, for he asserted the Queen wished to have only voluntary colonists in her provinces.

Michel, who had this expedition in charge finally got his twenty-eight remaining prisoners as far as Nimwegen, a town a short distance across the border of Holland, and hoped to be able to send them the rest of the way to England. But the vigilance of the Dutch Anabaptists discovered the prisoners; complaint was made; and they were immediately released and allowed to go back to their friends in the Palatinate, or wherever they would, in search of their families from whom they had been so long separated.¹ From one of the letters in which the writer claims to have started from Bern March 18² it would appear that one, at least, kept on to America.

On May 18, 1710, while the Swiss were on the way, Graf-fenried and Michel signed the contract with Georg Ritter and Peter Isot, by which they became, legally, members of the Georg Ritter Company. The foundation of the enter-

¹ Bernische Täufer, page 258 ff.

² German Version, Letters.

prise was the 17,500 acres actually purchased and the twelve year's option on the 100,000 acres.¹ They also had permission to take up land above the falls of the Potomac, which would, however, be held of the Crown, subject to the Governor of Virginia. The amount actually paid for land was 175£. Besides these land grants they had mining rights in Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.² Those in Carolina are defined as follows.

“Agreed that Baron de Graffenried and Mr. Lewis Michel shall have a lease of all royal mines and minerals in the Province of Carolina that they shall discover and work for a term of 30 years, they being at the entire charge The produce of it to be divided into eight parts whereof four eights are to be paid to the Lords Proprietors the other four eights to the said Baron de Graffenried and Mr. Lewis Michel for the term of 5 years after any such Mines shall be found and opened. But after the aforesd term of five years then the Lords to have five eights, the said Baron de Graffenried and Mr. Lewis Michel three eights the Lords being to pay the Crown the fourth part according to the Words of the Charter’’³ (Apparently this was to be the fourth part of the half which for the first five years should go to the two operators, or one eight of the whole.)

In their contract with the Georg Ritter Company, however, Michel, who had done all of the exploration and claimed to have found mines, was to have all the product for three years after the opening of the mines, except what belonged to the Proprietors. In the fourth year Ritter and Graffenried were to draw from the produce according to the amount they had subscribed, and the surplus, for the seventeen years the society was to continue, was to go to the members. And they were to pay Ritter for the capital he advanced out of the production of the first year of the mine in case it turned out well.⁴ The contract between the Company and the other

¹ German Version, Contract.

² German Version, Contract.

³ Col. Rec., Vol. I, page 723.

⁴ German Version, Contract.

provinces is not given; in fact the claims of the Crown were not settled as far as Virginia was concerned, and a year or two later the uncertainty caused Spotswood considerable anxiety.¹

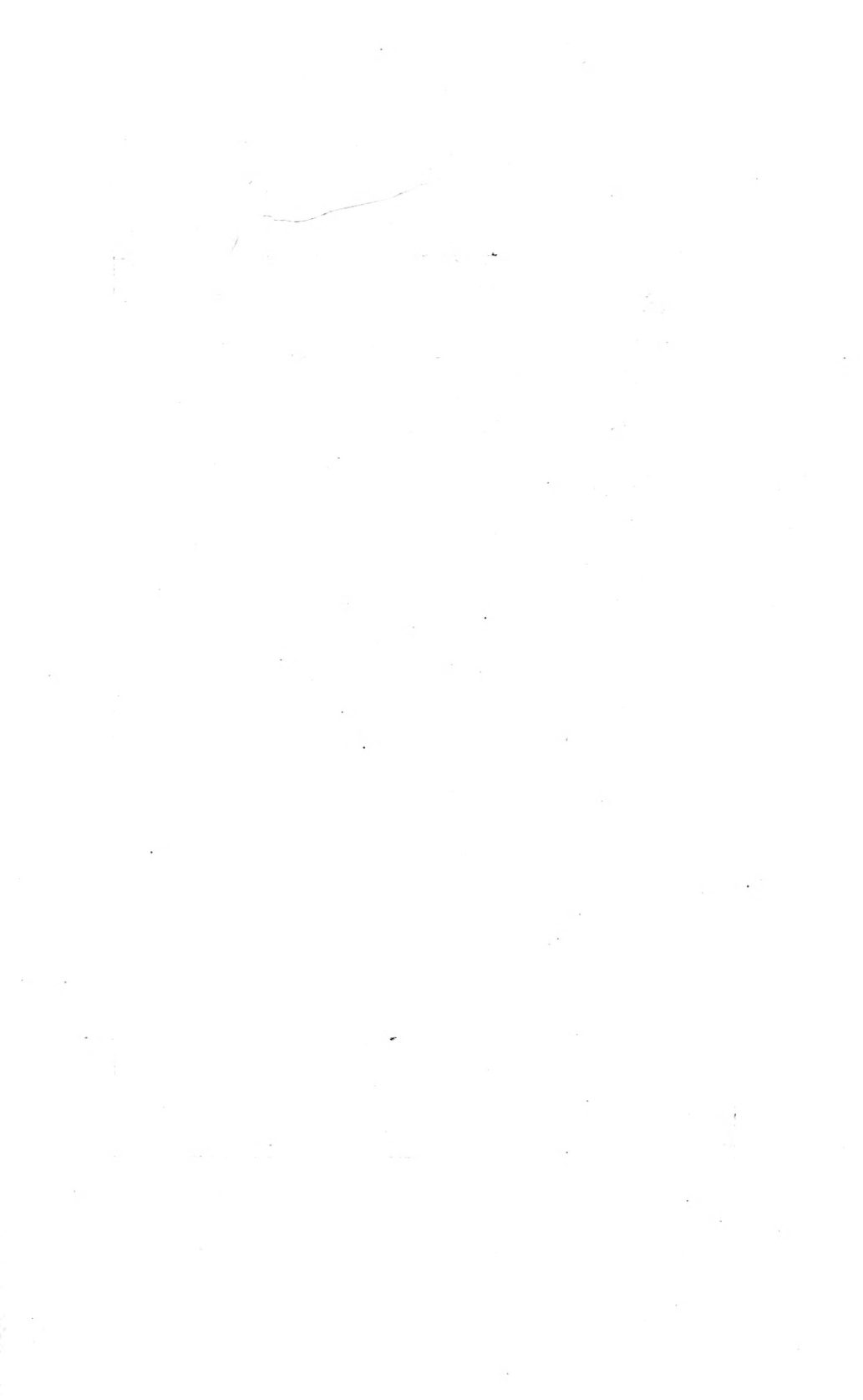
The stock of the company consisted of 7200£ divided into twenty-four shares of 300£, no one person holding more than one share; but it was not all paid in, for Michel was credited with a share to pay him for his discoveries which he claimed to have made and for the 2500 acres which he turned into the society. Graffenried had a share credited to him for his 5000 acres and his labors with the Palatines; and Georg Ritter had a share for expenses already incurred, leaving only 6,300£ to be paid in. Albrecht von Graffenried had paid in his share but when the contract was signed others had not contributed their amounts; and since they had until September 1711 to do so,² it is impossible to tell how much Graffenried had on hand to support himself and his colonists. The report written months afterwards (in May, 1711) indicates a lack of 2400£ which should have been raised in some way. At that time he had spent 2228£, a part or all of which he had borrowed;³ and the 2400£ would have paid this and left a little besides.

The amount of help he might expect from the Proprietors is not definitely stated. But from the following resolution passed at Craven House September 3, 1709, at the time the 10,000 acres were bought, it would appear that there was a possibility of Graffenried's being disappointed, even if the promise had been kept, for "To the 2nd Proposal relating to the poor Palatines that shall be transported into North Carolina, It was resolv'd that their Lordships will not undertake to provide them with all provisions they shall want but they will give directions to their Receiver General to supply the Palatines with such provisions as may be spared from the necessary use of the government at the same rates he received them the sd Christopr de Graffenried and Lewis Michel paying their Lordships for the same in Sterling money

¹ Spotswood, vol. I, page 161.

² German Version, Contract.

³ German Version.





GRAFFENRIED'S MAP OF HIS COLONY

in London at the end of two years after the arrival of the Palatines in North Carolina at £50 per cent discount''.¹ In a letter by Urmstone, quoted in part, later, it is stated that Graffenried was to expect 1500£ colonial money. This statement may be somewhat exaggerated as are other statements in the letter; but taken in connection with the fact that Cary, as we shall see, promised to give him 500£ on the proprietor's account, it shows conclusively that Graffenried had reason to expect substantial assistance from them.

After a pleasant voyage Graffenried and his Switzers came in sight of land September 10th, and the 11th they came ashore.² The news which he then received of his first shiploads must have been a terrible disappointment, for despite the fact that he had had the Royal Commissioners inspect the ships to be sure that all was right and had sent the emigrants under the care of Surveyor General Lawson, Receiver General Gale, and another official going to Carolina, over half of them had died on the voyage because of the overcrowding of the ships and the salt food which did not agree with them.

CHAPTER VI.

Discussion of the transportation facilities provided for the Palatines by the commissioners—The Colonists plundered by a French privateer—Graffenried and his colony arrive September 10; they learn of the distress of the first shiploads—Graffenried and his Swiss start for North Carolina as soon as possible after landing.

It was certainly not to the credit of the commissioners that these people endured such hardships. Graffenried had them make a particular inspection before the ships started to be sure all was right, for his own experience in shipping was limited; but since the same crowding of the passengers, the same bad food, and the same appalling mortality prevailed on the ships which were carrying the Palatines to New York, the only conclusion is that the commissioners were either shamefully careless of the lives of these people, or totally un-

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 718.

² German Version, Letters; French Version.

fitted by their ignorance to have charge of the transportation of so many. When the proprietors first asked to have some of the Palatines sent to their colonies at the government's expense, Luttrell¹ estimated that it would require over 10£ for each person. In the case of Graffenried's colonists this figure was cut down to 5£ 10 shillings by the commissioners. Graffenried himself, later, estimated that 100 persons could be carried on a ship of 120 tons burden from Holland to America for 700£ or 7£ per person. Boehme² in 1711 estimated the cost of transportation from England to America as 7£ for adults and half of that for children.

The committee fixed on the lowest amount possible and paid the ship captains in advance for each passenger. The following passage written at the time of the emigration to New York shows how wretched the management really was, though, of course, the ship captains must bear their share in this disgrace.

„Man hat zwar den Kapitänen, die die Ueberführung dahin übernahmen, auf den Kopf einen gewissen Betrag vergütet, aber bei der großen Menge mußten die Leute dermassen eingepfercht werden, daß viele davon, noch ehe die englische Küste außer Sicht kam, sehr unter Gestank und Ungeziefer gelitten haben, ganz abgesehen davon, daß die zu unterst Liegenden weder frische Luft schöpfen konnten, noch das Tageslicht sahen. Namentlich sind unter diesen Umständen die Kinder zahlreich dahingestorben, vollends bey stürmischer See. Ja von mehreren Familien blieb niemand übrig, weder Kinder, noch die Eltern selbst. In Briefen von Portsmouth, wo die Einschiffung statt fand, ist im April 1710 hierher nach London mitgeteilt worden, daß auf einem einzigen der Schiffe noch vor der Abfahrt achtzig der Auswanderer gestorben sind. Hundert andere lägen noch krank darin und schienen den Gestorbenen nachfolgen zu wollen. Die Ursache der Sterblichkeit wäre teils in der engen Einpferchung, teils darin zu suchen, daß der Schiffsherr die Menschen nicht mit guter und gesunder Nahrung versehe. Aber eben der Tod der Auswanderer be-

¹ Luttrell, vol. VI, page 465.

² Pennsylvania im 17. Jahrhundert, page 67.

deute Gewinn für die Schiffsherrn, da er dann auf der Fahrt weniger Leute zu verköstigen brauche".¹

Sickness and death was not all the Palatines had to endure; for just at the mouth of the James River in full view of shore and of an English warship, they were overhauled by a French privateer and one of the ships plundered. The people on board were deprived of even their clothes, and when they came ashore several more died from eating fruit and drinking water. Those who had finally recovered and were left alive had now been in their new home in Carolina several months, when Graf-fenried and the Switzers landed on September 10.

He was doubtlessly informed immediately of the disasters which had attended his first shiploads of colonists on their voyage and after landing; and their urgent letters were not needed to make him see that his presence was required in Carolina at once. As a Landgrave and head of an important colony, he had some obligations to the Governor of Virginia, and therefore could not go immediately into Carolina, but had first to call and pay his respects to the head of the colony. As Spotswood himself was not at home, he called upon the Lieutenant Governor, and also met Edward Hyde, who had been sent by the proprietors to be governor of North Carolina; and through them he was made acquainted with the political situation in Carolina. He made his visit as short as he decently could and before long he and his people set out over land for the Chowan River, where they expected to find boats to take them to their tract on the Neuse and Trent.

Leaving them at this point for a time we must now recall some of the events of the years preceding, in order better to appreciate what Graffenried encountered on his arrival in America.

¹ Pennsylvanien im 17. Jahrhundert, page 66 ff. The author is here quoting a German writer, Hoen, but with orthographic changes and modern expressions where the original is not easily understood.

CHAPTER VII.

The earliest settlement—Early government—Development of Self-government—Imposition of Locke's Fundamentals—Confusion resulting from attempts to enforce certain provisions and navigation laws—Trouble growing out of test oaths—Cary in open opposition to Edward Hyde, the Proprietor's appointee—Graffenried met by a delegation and offered the presidency of the council—He refuses a tempting offer for the sake of his colony.

The first immigrants into the Carolinas were wealthy Virginians who were attracted by the opportunity to better their condition, and not religious refugees as has generally been supposed. They purchased land of the Indians and settled themselves about Albemarle Sound as early as 1659,¹ without asking permission of anyone. In 1662 Governor Berkeley of Virginia gave them patents and required of them the quit rents usual in Virginia, that is one farthing per acre. They did not form compact towns, but each planter had his own wharf to which trading vessels came. No very serious Indian troubles drove them to continuously concerted action; and as they had no ministers for a long time, although many of them doubtless belonged to the established church, there grew up a reckless sort of independence which was strengthened by arrival of new colonists from the attempted settlements of New Englanders at Cape Fear, which had failed, partly because the colonists had stubbornly resisted the purpose of the proprietors to appoint governors over them rather than let them elect their own.

These proprietors were eight favorites of Charles II whom he wished to reward for their assistance in helping him to his throne after the downfall of the Protectorate. They were given almost absolute power, holding all the rights which the Bishop of Durham held. Besides they had the power to create an order of nobility among the inhabitants of their domains, but the titles were not to be the same as those used

¹ Johns Hopkins Historical Studies, May-June, 1892; Ashe, vol. I, p. 59.

in English and the laws they should make were not to be opposed to those of England. The grant took in a strip from ocean to ocean between 31° and 36° north latitude, the same grant which Charles I had made to Robert Heath in 1629.

Later, in 1665, the grant made to Robert Heath was formally set aside and the proprietors were given an increase, the new grant extending from 29° to 36° 30', north latitude. They were allowed also discretionary powers with regard to freedom of conscience, and could grant religious liberty and toleration as they chose.

Another provision of the charter is so important in the later history that I shall quote verbatim so much of it as applies. "And also to ordain, make and enact, and under their seals, to publish any laws and constitutions whatsoever, either appertaining to the publick state of the said whole province or territory, or of any district or particular county, barony or colony, of or within the same, or to the private utility of particular persons, according to their best discretion, *by and with the advice, assent and approbation of the freemen of the said province or territory, or of the freemen of the county, barony or colony, for which such laws or constitution shall be made, or the greater part of them, or their delegates or deputies, whom for enacting of the said laws, when, and as often as need shall require,* we will that the said Edward Earle of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Cartaret, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley, and their heirs or assigns, *shall from time to time* assemble in such manner and forms as to them shall seem best; etc."¹ A saving clause permitted laws to be passed on an emergency, which had not received the sanction of the people.

In 1664 a man named Drummond was sent out with six councilors to be governor of the province. With them was sent the Concessions, under which all this territory of Carolina was to be governed. By this document the freemen were either to meet in one body or to elect twelve represent-

¹ Carroll's Collections, vol. II, page 43 ff. The italics are mine, V. H. T.

atives to act with the six councilors. The first assembly which met not later than 1665 was composed of all the freemen, and was in this respect a democratic body. Full liberty of conscience was established with this exception that the General Assembly might appoint as many ministers as it pleased, thus giving a preference to the church of England. Officers were either to swear allegiance to or sign a declaration in a book, and no tax was to be levied without the consent of the Assembly. The Assembly might choose a president in place of an absent governor or deputy governor. Quit rents were made a half penny per acre. Until 1667 the governor, six councilors, and twelve deputies (for the meeting of all the freemen was not continued) sat in one body. In the general meeting of 1665 a petition had been sent to the proprietors that the quit rent be reduced to the rate which prevailed in Virginia of one farthing per acre payable in commodities. In 1668 this was granted in an instrument called ever since the "Great Deed", and any encroachments upon its provisions by the proprietors were bitterly resented.

After these years of self-government there came an unwelcome change, which in Carolina marks the beginning of that unrest which finally ended with the Revolution, for never after this was there any extended period of satisfaction with the government from England, whether administered by the proprietors or the royal governors. One of the proprietors, the Earl of Shaftsbury, had his friend, the philosopher John Locke, draw up a system of government for the colony; and in 1669, what was considered the most perfect system ever devised was sent out to be tried on the few scattered settlers in this vast woods. No stretch of the imagination can make this seem like emergency legislation, and there is not the slightest ground for thinking the proprietors considered it as such; the freemen never unqualifiedly sanctioned it; and therefore, by the provision of the charter above quoted, this Grand Model of government was not legally binding upon the people. The resistance, however, was not entirely consistent. For example, they objected to the requirement of an oath to support the constitution, and in this degree, they may be

said to have objected to the whole plan; but nevertheless they accepted the provision for regularly holding elections of their representatives, and for having meetings every two years whether the governor called one or not. There is no evidence that they were opposed to the theoretical founding of high sounding courts, or an actual establishing of a hereditary nobility. Their great complaint was against a raise of the quit rents from a farthing to a penny per acre, payable in silver.

Further trouble was caused by attempts to enforce the navigation laws. In 1673 Cataret, tired of trying to enforce the enactments, resigned the governorship, and from that time till 1707 there were six open revolts leading to the deposition or suspension of governors and collectors. The people had never been trained in the obedience presupposed in the constitutions, and resisted every attempt to invade their previous liberties.

To these economic and political disturbances were added religious difficulties. The proprietors had allowed people of dissenting opinions to settle in their dominions and practice their religious worship as they wished, as long as they refrained from disturbing others. But the idea, nevertheless, had always been to establish the church of England in the colonies in Carolina. The first missionaries sent out by the society for the Propagation of the Gospel were unfortunate choices. They antagonized many of their own faith as well as the dissenters, for the very idea of having a church supported by the state was repugnant to many of them. After the visit of Edmundson and Fox in 1672 the Quakers, too, had become rather numerous; and, of course, they objected to being compelled to pay for the support of other ministers than their own, and in particular to the support of the Church of England ministers.

In 1697, by act of Parliament, oaths of office were required of the governors of colonies; and in 1701, Governor Walker had the assembly pass an act to establish parishes and churches and maintain ministers. The Quakers, Presbyterians, and some of the members of the Established Church objected very strongly to this. But the trouble calmed down

without being finally settled when the bill was vetoed by the proprietors because they considered it inadequate. In 1704 Daniel became governor, and he required the oath of allegiance to Queen Anne, in accordance with an act of Parliament, and denied the right of any to sign a declaration in a book in lieu of the oath, a privilege which had been expressly granted in the instructions of 1670.¹ The governor was technically in the right in his demand, for such oaths were required very strictly in England at this time and for years afterwards; but the laws had always been dead letters in Carolina, and might just as well have been treated as such at this time if Governor Daniel had desired to have it so. The measure seems to have been aimed at the Quakers, since this effectually excluded them from the Assembly, weakened the opposition to the strict Church party to this degree and allowed the establishing of the Church of England by law, as Lord Granville, the most influential of the proprietors, desired. This was so distasteful to the Presbyterians and other dissenters who might ordinarily be expected to favor the exclusion of the Quakers, that they united with them and secured Daniel's removal by order of the proprietors. This compliance of the proprietors shows that there was no need of applying the act of Parliament regarding oaths very rigidly in the colonies.

Thomas Cary who before this had been a merchant in South Carolina, was next appointed. He shared the general feeling against the Quakers, and not only had them excluded by this same test oath, but also imposed a fine upon those who should enter upon an office without first taking the oath. He also secured the passage of another law by which the election of any one who promoted his own candidacy was declared void. By the application of this measure he could keep out any one he chose, by merely having it shown that the person in question had in some way promoted his own interests in the election. These enactments gave him control over Presbyterians as well as Quakers, but the measures were too thorough, and Mr. John Porter was sent to England to peti-

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 181.

tion the proprietors for relief; and in 1707 he returned bringing an instrument by which the laws regarding oaths were suspended and Cary removed from the government. At the time of his arrival, however, Cary was absent, and William Glover, President of the Council was acting in his place. He, therefore, did not at once enforce his new instrument, but left Glover in power, and held in abeyance the action against Cary. Yet, since Glover was still keeping the Quakers out by the test oaths, discontent grew until Cary, Porter, Pollock and Foster, heads of various factions, in 1708 unitedly issued a proclamation to the people to obey the existing government. But the coming of two Church of England missionaries, Adams and Gordon, at this time was the signal for another outbreak on the part of the different dissenting bodies, who saw in the actions of the government a menace to their religious liberty, and an attempt to saddle the established church on the colony.

Porter next broke with Glover, and Cary was elected. Since Lord Granville was now dead, there was no need for Cary to still hold high church views; and while there is no record of such an agreement, it appears that Cary promised to give up the requirement of the test oaths and other restrictions. And it was probably for this reason that he was chosen president of the council. Glover also claimed to be president since his incumbency had not been disturbed by Porter's instructions from the proprietors, while they had said specifically that Cary should be removed. Glover certainly had some right on his side as well as did Cary, for by the Constitution and by precedent the president of the council was to be governor in the absence of a governor or his deputy, approved by the proprietors. Thus we find two Governors, and the country in turmoil. The principals agreed to leave the decision to an assembly, and each issued writs for an election. Cary had the majority of votes if the Quakers were admitted. Glover, however, insisted upon the exclusion of the Quakers, but without avail, and he with Pollock and Gale, went over into Virginia, leaving Cary in charge. But still a large faction, composed of those who had been

trained in public affairs during the time that the others had been kept out by the exclusion laws, was dissatisfied, and the government was not very efficient.

In 1708 Tynte had been appointed governor of South Carolina with instructions to deputize Edward Hyde over the northern colony, and until Hyde should come Tynte left Cary in charge. Unfortunately for affairs in North Carolina Tynte died during the summer of 1710 without having signed Hyde's commission, and since under the circumstances Hyde did not care to come into the colony, he was still in Virginia when Graffenried landed with his Switzers in September, 1710, and after a short delay started for Carolina.

At Somerton a delegation of Quakers and other persons met him, and desired him by virtue of his title of Landgrave to take the **presidency** of the council, which in the absence of the governor, as had been noticed, carried with it the executive function. If Graffenried had been ambitious for himself he might well have been tempted by the offer. He was the friend of Hyde, whose appointment lacked only a signature to make it valid, and as such might have felt sure of the support of Hyde's adherents and many of Cary's dissenters. Moreover, since Glover's departure for Virginia, his followers were looking forward to Hyde's coming, and these men, too, would probably have supported him. His favor with the Queen and the proprietors, which must have been well known in the colony, since he had been made Landgrave and his Palatines had been provided for over a year before, might have led him to hope that a good number from the contending parties could be brought to recognize him as their executive officer, for Hyde had no patents and was in addition afraid to trust himself in the province. If Graffenried had been acquainted with the previous history of the Colony at all, he would have known that there was not much to fear from the proprietors, so long as he could keep the factions united. Their weakness in dealing with their colonies was well recognized,¹ and just as in the case of Cary, they could be expected to leave the matter in *statu quo* as

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 725.

long as no complaint was made to them. That the factions were tiring of the struggle is shown by the fact that after Graffenried refused to be led astray by such brilliant prospects, they united in an address to Hyde to take the presidency until his commission should arrive. Cary himself was one of the signers,¹ persuaded, to be sure, by Graffenried.² For Graffenried, although his refusal was not acceptable to the delegation, had resolved to devote his time and energies to his settlement, and to avoid the difficulties of politics.

CHAPTER VIII.

Graffenried's precarious position—The Palatines' pitiful condition—Graffenried defrauded—No help to be obtained from the Proprietors—Makes peace with the Indians—Lawson's humane sentiments not borne out in his treatment of the Indians—Michel disturbs the proceedings—Graffenried compelled by circumstances as well as inclinations to join Hyde's faction.

Graffenried's position was now a peculiar one. On the one hand, he had, immediately on his arrival, become one of the most influential men in the province. His title of Landgrave, the fame of his undertaking, and his friendship with eminent persons in England made him very much respected and yet of the actual necessities of life he had almost nothing with which to support his dignity. When he reached the settlement he found conditions worse than he expected. Lawson had not sold all the land on the point between the Neuse and the Trent Rivers to Graffenried, and in order to further his own interests, he had settled those under his charge on his own land to gain the benefit of any clearing they might do. Thus when Graffenried came, the Palatines found their summer's work had gone for nothing. The directors had also exploited them by taking their goods in return for their services in looking after them on the way over, and what was left after this had gone to the English settlers in return for food to keep them alive. Moreover, the place where Lawson

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 727.

² German Version.

had settled them was on a southern exposure where the heat was very oppressive, and as a result, sickness was added to starvation. To make matters worse, instead of finding the land free of Indians as Graffenried supposed it to be, he discovered that King Taylor with a small tribe of twenty families was still living there, and that they were none too well pleased to have their lands taken up in this way, for they had never as yet been paid for the tract. If in this situation the Germans did not supply their wants by hunting, supposing they had the strength and equipment, one cannot blame them. As for living on fish, oysters, and crabs, such a diet in the heat of summer after they had been weakened by their illness on the long voyage across the Atlantic and after landing in Virginia would be almost impossible.

But Graffenried's coming changed all this, for he brought supplies for their present needs, and began immediately to see what could be done on the account of the Lords Proprietors with the province. His treatment of the Indians on this and later occasions is more a credit to his heart than to his business sagacity perhaps, if one may judge his actions by the standard set by most of the whites who have had dealings with the Indians. The result justified him in his peculiar notions, however, when it came to be a life and death matter with him. He had previously paid for the particular piece of ground where the settlement was then being made, supposing that the original owners had been satisfied for it and had moved off leaving it perfectly free for white settlers. Likewise it was scarcely to be expected that Lawson would work a fraud on him and an injustice to the Indians after such generous expressions as the following, chosen from several such to be found in his book.

"These are them that wear the English Dress. Whether they have Cattle now or no, I am not certain; but I am of the Opinion that such Inclinations in the Savages should meet with Encouragement, and every Englishman ought to do them Justice and not defraud them of their Land, which has been allotted them formerly by the Government; for if we do not show them Examples of Justices and Virtue, we

can never bring them to believe us to be a worthier Race of Men than themselves”.

“They are really better to us than we are to them; they always give us Victuals at their Quarters, and take Care we are armed against Hunger and Thirst; we do not so by them (generally speaking) but let them walk by our Doors hungry, and do not often relieve them. We look upon them with Scorn and Disdain and think them little better than Beasts in human Shape, though if well examined, we shall find that for all our Religion and Education we possess more moral Deformities and Evils than these Savages do, or are acquainted withal”.¹

It appears, though, that an opportunity to enrich himself overcame his scruples and he did as others had done before him, disposed of land which by rights was not yet his to dispose of. When Graffenried came and found the savages still claimed the land, rightfully as he looked at it, Lawson’s advice to chase them off did not appeal to him, although it would have been possible, perhaps, to do so. Rather, he paid them for the tract and established friendly relations with them. Then finding that his people and the Indians were not likely to live together harmoniously, he had a very solemn powwow with the red-men, paid them again for the land where the first settlement had been made, probably bought what other land he needed to parcel out to his settlers and made the Indians satisfied to move out of the neighborhood of his people. His influence over the Indians and their confidence in him comes out indirectly in this conference. The Indians, seventeen heads of families and their chief, took their places in a circle on the ground, dressed in their finery, the chief looking to Graffenried more like an ape than a man. Graffenried sat on a chair and also wore whatever ornaments he had that would glitter most. He could not help but be convinced that their arguments for staying were better than any he could present to induce them to leave, but yet they finally agreed to go. Michel, his business partner, was not far away during the conference, making himself drunk with

¹ Lawson’s Journal, page 192 ff.

some English friends. In this condition he suddenly broke in on the assembly, snatched off the king's head dress and threw it as far as he could, then seizing the orator beat him and dragged him out of the circle. Graffenried had difficulty in restoring order and peace; finally, however, Michel was taken away and put in charge of his friends, and the negotiations went on to a happy termination for Graffenried. That night, Michel, still under the influence of liquor, broke into the Indian camp while Graffenried was asleep, and again beat and insulted the orator; and again Graffenried had to be peacemaker.¹ The fact that he succeeded at all is sufficient evidence of the regard in which he was held by the savages.

The need of separating the Indians from the settlers is illustrated by the story he tells of one of his workmen. This man, a Berner, coming home from wood chopping happened to pass by an idol representing the evil divinity. This image was painted red and black, the colors of the wood chopper's native city. He could not endure seeing these colors misused in such a manner, and destroyed the ugly representation of the Devil with his ax. On reaching home he boasted that he had split the Devil with one blow.² The Indians were horrified at such a sacrilege and peace was with difficulty restored. Nevertheless they were finally persuaded to forego hostilities when Graffenried promised to see that no further injury was done them. Partly for their sake he sent Michel on surveying expeditions, and into Pennsylvania to look for silver.³ The settlers, too, could not appreciate the Indians' point of view although they speak kindly of them in their letters, wherever they mention them at all, and, so, it was better to keep them apart.⁴

Having reached the province and provided for the immediate needs of his people, Graffenried now felt his next duty to be the securing of the continuation of supplies. As a

¹ French Version.

² French and German Versions.

³ French Version.

⁴ German Version, Letters.

Landgrave he would be compelled to take sides in the political quarrel in the colony, and the question was with whom should he cast in his fortune. He and his colony were dependent upon the favor of the Proprietors for their very existence, and he could not hope for their favor while supporting one who was defying their authority. Yet the principles for which the dissenting faction had contended in the beginning before Cary took sides with them—freedom from the domination of the Church of England—must have appealed to him, even though he and his colonists were under the spiritual protection of the Bishop of London and had become members of that church.¹ Moreover, among 650 Palatines there must have been a goodly number of Anabaptists, and some of the letters of his settlers which he copied for the German version seem to have been written by people of this sect. One of their fundamental tenets was freedom of conscience, and both in framing the contract for the society and in the agreement with the settlers, Graffenried and the Company did not depend upon the charter of Carolina nor the Fundamental Constitutions alone, but made special provision for religious liberty. The distractions produced in the province in the efforts to secure it, however, could not have impressed the colonists favorably, and as a matter of self-defence Graffenried had to espouse Hyde's cause. And yet Hyde was not technically governor, lacking Tynte's signature, and was afraid to come into the province.

The very numbers of people Graffenried brought with him was a disadvantage, because whichever side he joined, he would be sure to gain the ill-will of the opposition. But as Cary, who had been deposed once, was governing a second time with a legality which was questioned by the first people with whom Graffenried had become acquainted,² and as it was the will of the Lords Proprietors that Hyde should be governor, he did not hesitate to declare himself against Cary. And again the situation was complicated, for Cary had in his possession all the funds of the province, and it was neces-

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, pp. 756, 734. French Version.

² Col. Rec., vol. I, page 731.

sary for Graffenried to look to him for what the Proprietors had promised on their account with the province. When the demand was made of him, he promised well, but kept evading fulfillment until Graffenried lost hope at last and sent to Virginia where he had made arrangements for flour, before leaving England. Only thus were the people enabled to proceed with the building of their town.

CHAPTER IX.

Founding of the city—Leet Court System—Articles in the Fundamentals relating to Leet Courts—Discussion of Baronies and Manors, showing irregularities in appointments—Articles in Fundamentals referring to Baronies, Manors, etc.—Ideal once given up revived in modified form for Graffenried's colony—Reasons for this—Contracts with Proprietors and Colonists—Evidences from Manuscripts of a paternal government and of popular assemblies.

The little city was placed on a point of land between the Neuse River and the Trent, and was laid out in the form of a cross, one arm extending from river to river, and the other, from the point, back indefinitely. At a reasonable distance Graffenried built a line of fortification from one river to the other and had his coastline well defended also. These fortifications were doubtless frail enough, but would have been of service in case of an Indian attack if all the people were inside and acted in concert. He planned to have a church at the four corners. Market was to be held once a week, and a fair yearly. His best contribution was his water mill for grinding grain. There was only one other mill in the whole province and it was a poor one, and the only way the people had of getting flour or meal was to beat their grain in a wooden mortar with a wooden pestle and sift it through a basket. When the little town was completed, a solemn assembly gave it the name of New Bern. It had such a favorable beginning that people in Virginia and Pennsylvania bought lots there, and Graffenried could say that his town made more progress in a year than some other towns

had made in several.¹ A plan to live at one common expense, but in separate households was formulated, but was given up as impracticable.²

The form of government at New Bern is nowhere definitely given, yet we can get some general idea of it from a few references in the writings Graffenried left. One is tempted to see in it the attempt to introduce the leet court system of the Fundamental Constitutions, though in a modified form, despite the fact that the revised Fundamentals of 1698³ had omitted the provision relating to such courts. If this is the case, we have the only such attempt so far as I am able to discover, to put the system into practice in the province. The omission of many of the articles in the revised Constitution need not imply a change of conviction on the part of the proprietors, but only a concession to the conditions in America. In Graffenried's case, also, such a system, would, perhaps, seem more practicable and thus the old idea would, naturally, be revived.

The following articles of the Fundamentals refer to this sort of serfdom, and show the ideals which the proprietors had.

"16th. In every signiory, barony, and manor, the respective Lord shall have power in his own name to hold court leet there, for trying of all causes, both civil and criminal, but where it shall concern any person being no inhabitant, vassal, or leet man, of the said signiory, barony or manor, he upon paying down of forty shillings, for the Lords Proprietors' use, shall have an appeal from the signiory, or barony court, to the county court, and from the manor court to the precinct court.

"19th. Any Lord of a manor, may alienate, sell, or dispose to any other person and his heirs forever, his manor all intirely together, with all the privileges and leet men, thereunto belonging so far forth as any colony lands; but no grant of any part thereof, either in fee or for any longer term than

¹ German Version; French Version.

² German Version, Report.

³ Ashe, page 147.

three lives, or for one and twenty years, shall be good against the next heir.

“22d. In every signiory, barony and manor, all the leet men shall be under the jurisdiction of the respective Lords of the said signiory, barony or manor, without appeal from him. Nor shall any leet man, or leet woman have liberty to go off from the land of their particular Lord and live anywhere else without license obtained from their said Lord, under hand and seal.

“23d. All the children of leet men shall be leet men, and so to all generations.

“24th. No man shall be capable of having a court leet, or leet men, but a Proprietor, Landgrave, Casique, or Lord of a manor.

“25th. Whoever shall voluntarily enter himself a leet man, in the registry of the county court, shall be a leet man.

“26th. Whoever is Lord of leet men, shall upon the marriage of a leet man, or leet woman of his, give them ten acres of land for their lives, they paying to him, therefore, not more than one eighth part of all the yearly produce and growth of the said ten acres”.¹

In the application of their “unalterable Constitutions” relative to the German colony, as in other matters, the proprietors allowed themselves a considerable latitude, and so we find several variations from their ideals expressed in the articles quoted above. In the first place, the appointment of landgraves had always been irregular. According to their charter they could confer their titles “upon such of the inhabitants of the said province as they shall think do or shall merit the same”,² and yet of twenty-five appointees eleven never lived in America and several of those who did live in America were appointed before they ever came to this country.³ Locke was the first to receive the title, and in his case it appears to have been merely honorary, and if the four baronies of 12000 acres each were ever assigned to him there

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 187 ff.

² Col. Rec., vol. I, page 29.

³ McCrady, page 717.

is no record of it left. Nevertheless it was intended at first to have the title always associated with land and in the amounts prescribed in the articles, as an act passed by the Assembly of Albemarle and approved by the proprietors in 1669 shows. By this act it was decreed that 'noe person or persons whatsoever he be within this County under the degree of a Proprietor, Landgrave or Cassique shall have Liberty for the space of five yeares next ensueing to survey or ley out above six hundred and sixty acres of Land in one dividend that soe the County may be the speedier seated, without express leave obtained from the Lords Proprietors.

"And it is hereby further enacted that there shall not bee granted in any warrant any quantity of Land but what is allowed according to the Quality of the right and is exprest in the Proprietors Instructions, concessions or Fundamental Constitutions or forme of Government".¹

This intention of the part of the assembly was not always carried out for it was ordered by the Proprietors near the beginning of this new form of government that the Proprietors should have but three signiories, and each Landgrave and Casique but one barony.² Nevertheless, John Price,³ another of those who never lived in America, was made a Landgrave in 1687 and "four baronies of 12000 acres" were annexed to the title. In 1698 a new plan was hit upon,⁴ and instead of conferring the title and the domains which belonged to it as a mark of the high regard in which the person was held by the Proprietors, blanks were sent out for six Landgraves and eight Caciques. These were to be sold to whomsoever would buy, provided they were considered worthy by Major Robert Daniel and Landgrave Morton, who had the disposal of them. The sale was not very rapid, for only two purchased. One of these, Captain Edmund Bellinger was in England at the time of the purchase but paid in America and John Bayly took another but paid in Ireland.

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 186.

² McCrady, page 141.

³ McCrady, page 719.

⁴ McCrady, page 292.

After this another change was allowed, for in 1709 Abel Ketelby, who also became a non-resident landgrave, purchased 5000 acres.¹ And after this fashion the title had lost in dignity until it was offered for sale with few takers, while the land which went with it was reduced from a vast tract to a moderate sized manor, the lords of which strips were originally intended to be of the lowest order of nobility.

Graffenried's appointment was no exception to the others in irregularities. He was a foreigner, but probably naturalized,² for he was in England when the naturalization laws were made and in his Memorial he advises it. He was required to buy and actually did buy but 5000 acres to secure the title, and the 10,000 additional which he purchased for the company and Michel's 2500 acres over which he appears to have had the disposal for the company had nothing to do with the bestowal of the highest dignity in the power of the Proprietors.

Fortunately the Carolinians seem not to have been disturbed by all these irregularities in his appointment and the dignity of a title was of advantage to him as it helped him to keep the respect of his own settlers and the other colonists.

The following articles relate to the order of nobility which was to be established.

"4th. Each signory, barony, and colony, shall consist of twelve thousand acres, the eight signories being the share of the eight proprietors, and the eight baronies of the nobility; both which shares, being each of them one fifth of the whole, are to be perpetually annexed, the one to the proprietors and the other to the hereditary nobility; leaving the colonies, being three fifths, amongst the people; so that in setting out and planting the lands, the balance of the government may be preserved.

"9th. There shall be just as many Landgraves as there are counties, and twice as many Casiques, and no more. These shall be the hereditary nobility of the Province, and by right of their dignity be members of parliament. Each Landgrave

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 705.

² German Version, Memorial.

shall have four baronies, and each Casique two baronies, hereditarily and unalterably annexed to and settled upon the said dignity.

“17th. Every manor shall consist of not less than three thousand, and not above twelve thousand acres in one piece and colony; but any three thousand acres or more in one piece and the possession of one man, shall not be a manor, unless it be constituted a manor by the grant of the palatine’s court.

“21st. Every Lord of a manor, within his own manor, shall have all the powers, jurisdictions and privileges which a Landgrave or Casique hath in his baronies.¹

In the provisions for a continuance of the propriety government with its almost regal powers in the hands of a hereditary and self perpetuating body of eight persons, and a limited proportion of landgraves and casiques, with lords of manors below them, and last of all leet men—four classes likewise hereditary—the proprietors attempted to establish a feudal system more perfect in its working than any in Europe. For the systems with which they were familiar were the results of development or accident, while this was to be carefully thought out and the results calculated beforehand with almost mathematical accuracy, and applied arbitrarily to a new state which was just forming itself.

In the new nobility the amount of land belonging to a certain title had been fixed with the exception of manors, the size of which might vary from 3000 to 12000 acres. The obligations of the leet men, whether subject to lords of manors, casiques, or landgraves, were to be the same in all parts of the province. As has been shown, the theory could not be put into practice as originally intended in the case of the nobility, and it turned out to be even more impracticable to put the articles relating to leetmen into operation. There is not the slightest evidence that the offer of ten acres with its feudal acknowledgement which might amount to an eighth of the proceeds therefrom yearly, tempted anyone to put himself and his children into bondage to an overlord, when land

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 187.

was in abundance near by and free from burdensome obligations. It was so manifestly impossible to carry out these promises, that in the instructions to Colonel Philip Ludwell sent out in 1691, which were in reality a reduction of the Fundamentals from 120 to 43 articles,¹ there is no mention of leetmen or leetcourts, although landgraves and casiques are mentioned as if they were still to exist as before. In place of leetcourts there were to be representatives chosen by the freemen, and the criminal courts were to be administered by the governor or by commissioners appointed by him.

But when Graffenried brought out his colony, the old idea seems to have been revived for him and his settlers, for he would hardly have made an arrangement which removed his colonists from the jurisdiction of the officers of the province without the advice of the proprietors. The conditions under which the settlement was being made would favor such a government as they had originally planned, but would not make it essential. His people were coming out together, all spoke the same language and would naturally be somewhat cut off from the rest of the inhabitants of the province because of this; but since the French colonists,² though living somewhat segregated from the rest, held their lands just as the English settlers and were subject to the same government, Graffenried's arrangement was not made necessary by the fact that his people spoke a different language from those about them. By his contract with the Swiss and Palatines they were to pay a higher quit rent than was charged elsewhere in the province, but in return for it they were to receive material help in getting settled, which would offset the disadvantage of the higher rate. The proprietors had trouble over quit rents continually. Penn in Pennsylvania complained that the people did not appreciate what he was doing for them and that his revenues were not as large as they should be, and it was perhaps in hopes that if the people could be brought into a modified feudal relation with the proprietors there would be less trouble over quit rents than if they were

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 373 ff.

² McCrady, page 319 ff.

allowed to live as free as the English colonists, a condition which could be more easily maintained with a group of people speaking a different language from the main body of inhabitants.

The agreement which Graffenried and Michel entered into with the Commissioners has only an indication of some such arrangement in the words, "that some number of the said poor Palatines may be disposed of and settled in the said tract in North Carolina aforesaid, *as well for the benefit of the said Christopher de Graffenried and Lewis Michel* as for the relief and support of the poor Palatines".¹

In the abstract of the treaty² with the proprietors we find, furthermore, that Graffenried was to be the judge of all disputes arising among the Germans, but in cases where the English were involved the jurisdiction was in the hands of the courts. But all cases of capital crimes were reserved for the proprietors themselves. This is not as complete a jurisdiction as the Fundamental Constitutions had originally given to landgraves and others who should have leetmen; but it nevertheless put a very considerable authority into Graffenried's hands and where his own settlers alone were con-

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 987 ff. The italics are mine. V. H. T.

² Ils m'ont vendu 15000 arpents terre choisie que j'ay fait arpenter Sur la Riviere de News et Trent et 2500 acres Sur Weetock River, à 10 livres Sterlins le 1000, ou une livre Sterl; p cent acres, et 6 Sols par 100 arpendts, cen ce fonciere, ce qui fait la Somme de 175£ Sterl; ce que j'ay d'arbord paye content. 2. Il y a eu une reserve de 100 mille acres a choisir entre ces Rivieres cy nomées et Clarendon R. pour le meme prix, et pour cela j'ay eu 7 ans de terme pour faire le premier payement et des la 7e: jusques a la 12e: le tout devoit être payé. 3e. Les differents qu'auroient mon Peuple avec les Anglois se devoient terminer devant les juges Anglois mais ce que mes Colonistes auroient de difficulté entre Eux cela se termineroit entre Eux ou par devant moy. La haute Jurisdiction au faits criminels à mort reserves aux Seigrs. Prop: 4e. Liberté de Religion, et d'avoir un ministre de notre Pays qui pourroit precher en notre langue—. 5e. Droit de ville et marche ou faire a Neuberne. 6e. francs de toutte taille et impots dimes et Cences hormi les 6 Sols p 100 acres annullemet come susdit. 7e. Les Seigrs Prop: ou la Province par leurs ordres me devoient fournir pour 2 ou 3 ans de provision de vivres et betail pour moy et toutte la Colonie moyenant restitution apres le terme prescrit. (French version).

cerned in any but capital crimes is just as great. That he actually exercised authority is proven by the fact that he incurred the enmity of the Palatine blacksmith by sentencing him to a day's log sawing for using foul language.

In the abstract of his treaty¹ with the Palatines he was to give each family 300 acres of land, for which they should pay a quit rent of two-pence per acre, while he took upon himself the payment of the Lords Proprietors' six pence per 100 acres. Thus, as has been said before, the colonists paid a higher rent than was customary in the other provinces and dealt with Graffenried and not with the officers who usually attended to the collection of quit rents. The Swiss who wrote the letters home, when referring to their farms, used the word *Lehen* (*Lehn*) which carries with it the idea of an estate held of another, while *Gut*, which is used but once, usually has the meaning of a freehold but not necessarily so. The frequency of the use of *Lehen* indicates that the colonists themselves recognized a sort of feudal relationship. His own language in characterizing the actions of his colonists in following Brice, when he speaks of them as *abtruennig* (disloyal), *verraetersch* (traiterous) would not have been used except in the case of subjects; and later when the distress became more pressing he exercised one of the rights expressly given in the Constitution to landgraves, casique, and lords of Manor, when he gave his people permission to leave their farms. In this case he gave them leave to go away for two years to look for work, the implication being at the end of that time they should come back. Referring again to the articles on leetmen, we find that they were not allowed to leave their land without the express permission of their lord. And lastly, his agree-

¹ J'avois aussi un Traitte particulier et bien exact avec les Palatins lequell fust projecte examine et arrete, devant et par la Commission Royale trop ample a inserer icy, seulement en Substance ce qui suit 1e. mes Colonistes me devoient fidelite obeysance et Respect, et moy la Protection. au. 2e. Je devois fournir chaque famille de provision pour la premiere annee, d'une Vache de deux Cochons et de quelques utensils, moyenant restitution apres 3 ans. 3e. Je devois doner a chaque famille 300 arp: de Terre et ils devoient me livrer pour Cence fonciere 2 Sols par acre, en contre je devois Supporter les 6 sols p 100 acres de reconnaissance envers les Seigrs. Prop. come desia Susdit.

ment with the colonists says that they owed him fidelity, obedience and respect, and that he owed them protection—certainly a rather feudal-like expression. This is the relationship planned for at least one generation. How far the systems might have been planned to extend cannot be determined. We only know that the landgraveship was hereditary, and, that these estates may have been planned to descend likewise in the same family from father to son. From these considerations, then, it seems to me that this colony was the nearest approach to Locke's ideal ever established in this country—the only one founded on the Grand Model.

In the report to the Georg Ritter Company, also, it is expressly stated that purchasers of land shall have the right to sell their holdings; but under the proprietary government buying and selling of land did not alter the fact that each acre of ground owed its half penny quit rent to the proprietors, and it is to be supposed that if anyone should buy one of these farms owned by a Palatine, he would assume the responsibilities of rent, obedience and respect to the landgrave. In the end when the scheme failed, we find that Graffenried made over the whole tract to Colonel Pollock and the people lost their holdings; a result which could not have happened had they held of the proprietors as others did, for the system of registration of deeds was very perfect in Carolina at this time, and there could have been no mistake about ownership.

It would be too much to expect Graffenried, a member of one of the few patrician families of Bern, an ex-bailiff of an important city, coming to America as the head of the colonizing project, to show an entirely democratic spirit or to be very favorable to such democracy as he saw in those around him. The disorders attendant upon Cary's and Glover's rivalry, and Cary's refusal to submit to Governor Hyde, were menacing the very existence of the colony, and one might expect a stronger expression of what must have been his sentiments, when, in speaking of the help asked for from Spotswood, he says, "Seeing that these Virginians were not disposed to help us, perhaps themselves having a little of that free and democratic spirit".¹ All the assistance from the pro-

¹ French Version.

prietors and from the company in Bern on which the continuance of the colony depended, were to come through him, and it is natural that we should find evidences of a paternal government in the little colony at New Bern. Nevertheless, patriotic though he was, Graffenried had the welfare of the colony at heart. The letters from the settlers express satisfaction with his administration and he seems to have regarded the title as of value only as it made the Carolinians respect him, and so benefited his colony and company.¹

It is unfortunate that the colony was broken up so early in its history, before the system of government had time to become something more than a mere paper scheme of the proprietors, and before it had time to develop, as it most certainly would have done, into something suited to the needs of the people. It has been seen that the modified system of leetmen actually put into operation was much more workable than the scheme as laid out in the Unalterable Constitutions. When we remember that besides the Palatines who were seeking liberty as well as freedom of conscience, there were some Swiss country people who had belonged to the religious brotherhood where they had a voice in matters that concerned the community, that in Switzerland in general there had always been a tradition of liberty, that in Bern, from whence most of them had come, popular assemblies had been held as late as 1653, and that shortly after this, assemblies were to be tried again, showing that the sentiment was still strong among the common people,² it is not surprising to see indications of such an assembly in New Bern, when the town was to be named.³

¹ German Version.

² Cambridge History, vol. VI, page 623 ff. 1713.

³ The sentence, French Version, in which this occasion is mentioned reads as follows:

Il s'agissoit de donner un nom a la Ville ce que nous fumes en grande Solennité, et nous joignimes au nom de Neuws celuy de Berne, ainsi la Ville fust baptisée Neuberne.

Compare with the above the following passages:

... et je fis meme une espece d'aillance avec ce Roitelet nommé Taylor et Son Monde, cela ce fist Solennellmt.

... Ils commencerent de gouter mes raisons et on tient pour cela une assemblée Solenelle.

On later occasions his people showed a spirit which, while distressing to Graffenried and perhaps of actual harm to themselves, proves very conclusively that where they considered it necessary they showed their independence by leaving Graffenried without permission, and seeking with Brice the protection the Baron appeared unable to afford. Whatever may have been planned, it is reasonably sure that a feudal government would not have endured long with these liberty loving Germans and Swiss. As it is, there appears to have been a paternal government with indications of concerted and independent action of the people.

CHAPTER X.

Hyde comes to North Carolina in January, 1711—Graffenried made a Colonel—Hopes to receive assistance from the Province—Cary preparing for open rebellion—Condition of the town—Graffenried sends a report to Bern—Appearance of prosperity deceptive—Letter by Urmstone shows the condition to be as Graffenried describes—Cary's attack and retreat—Peace of short duration—The Governor of Virginia sends help—Effect of the war on the German Colony—An exploring trip—Lawson and Graffenried captured by the Indians.

Taking up the story again from where it was left in Part II, chapter VIII: Hyde entered upon his duties some time in December,¹ 1710, and shortly after sent Graffenried a Colonel's commission along with a summons to attend the assembly. Graffenried could ill afford the time from his own affairs, but hoped the opportunity had now come to obtain the needed assistance for his people. The Governor's will in the matter was good, but the treasury was empty, for Cary still held the funds of the province, and was, moreover, making prepara-

Die Indianer nun betreffend, so sind sie nicht zu beförchten, so man einen Bund mit Ihnen macht, welches schon Sollenisch.

This use of some form of the word meaning solemn in the last three cases, evidently referring to an assembly for free discussion, argues that it is used in the first case with the same connotation especially since he does not use the word otherwise in the manuscripts.

¹ Col. Rec., Vol. I, page 750.

tion for active resistance. Graffenried now had to take one side or the other, for the situation was growing more tense, and the question of colonial support for the Palatines had to be brought to an issue and decided as soon as possible. His only hope was in Hyde, for Cary's promises had proven unreliable; and he threw himself into Hyde's cause with all his might, although he and his people would have preferred to stay out of the trouble. In the report¹ to the Georg Ritter Company he says that he and his people took Hyde's part, but in the accounts he says that they remained neutral, because they were intimidated by Cary. Most likely Hyde had their sympathy and half hearted support, but they took no active part in the "war!" Some time during the spring the Hyde and Graffenried forces took Cary into custody, but he made his escape.

Meanwhile the colony was prospering, the settlers were contented and there were excellent prospects, for people as far away as Pennsylvania had taken lots.² Graffenried had expended 2228£ in provisions of one sort or another, though not in the amount specified in the contract with the commissioners, regarding cattle for the Palatines. However, the settlers were apparently satisfied and there was still time to supply them completely. There were two boats³ belonging to the colony which he and Michel had bought to save transportation charges. Their town had one of the few schoolmasters in the province, for Graffenried had provided for this need before leaving London, and the trades were also well represented. Graffenried took charge of the ordinary religious services, which consisted in reading of prayers in the houses of his colonists, using the Episcopal forms, and very rarely a sermon was preached to them by the Church of England missionary. During the lull in the troubles, while Cary was preparing for his next attempt on the government, Graffenried used the occasion of one of his settler's going home to write to his Company a circumstantial account

¹ German Version, Report.

² German Version, Report.

³ French Version.

of the situation, and several of his settlers, likewise wrote to their friends or relatives, and from these letters one can gather that the future was full of hope, and they had no doubt of Graffenried's ability to continue to supply them what was needed, or even to take charge of more who might wish to come.

But in spite of the appearance of prosperity, ruin was imminent, though of all the New Bern colony Graffenried alone gives evidence of seeing it. Persons on the outside soon began to notice that something was wrong, for his difficulties were known to Missionary Urmstone who mentions them in his letter to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This letter, though evidently intended to discredit the Quaker Proprietor, Danson, and exaggerated, at any rate, as to the number of Palatines who had come to the colony, must have had some foundation in fact. The letter was written July 17, 1711, and the following postscript was added, one item of which has been alluded to before on page 49.

“P. S. As for the Rebels, I am not much concerned, but 'tis grievous to here the complaints of the poor men & families, who have been so long in arms that they have lost their crops & will want bread, the ravage & plunder of the enemies have committed has ruined others.—another instance of the Quakers Knavery I cannot omit which concerns you to Knowe as having been commissioner for the Palatines. Baron Graffenried with his people must have starved, if not supplied by others here, He had an order from the proprietors, i. e. Danson for the rest never concern themselves to receive £1500 here for which he was to pay 1000 sterling. a great cheat, for £1000 sterling is worth £3000 here in our pay. Danson in his Letter to his friends here bragged they should get an Estate by these Foreigners. Cary the late usurper of this government, & now head of the Rebels was to pay it out of the proprietors dues which he had received he was arrested & made his escape what reason then have they to protect him to prevent others from supplying the Baron in his great distress. Roach & the Quakers reported that the Baron had no

credit in England, nor had he any money anywhere. through ill usage in their way hither & since their arrival of 900 palatines there are but 300 nowe alive, & those ready to starve. through the instigation of the English, who live near them the neighboring Indians are very troublesome to them in the beginning of this present Rebellion the Baron with the Swiss & palatines would have joined the Governor but were threatened with fire & sword. the Engld & Indians designed to destroy them & all they had such encouragement do the proprietors give people to come into their colony. I have written a very tart letter to Sir John Colleton a proprietor concerning all matters whether pleased or displeased, it matters not the proprietors promised me all friendship & favor. but as yet never showed me any & I believe never will".¹

With Cary and a considerable faction in active opposition to the government, something had to be done immediately in self defense, and a council was held at Colonel Pollock's. This was Cary's chance, if ever he had one, to succeed, and on June 30,² while the Governor, Graffenried, and Colonel Pollock were in session, consulting how to meet the emergency, the rebels, as they are always called, came up in their brigantine and fired a shot which damaged the roof. The Colonel returned an answer and followed it with another. The ship then withdrew having suffered an injury to one of her masts and the enemy sent out a landing party, thinking there were but few defenders. But when they saw the yellow livery of Graffenried's servant they thought the whole Palatine colony present under arms and this so alarmed them that they immediately steered back for the ship. The Colonel seized the strategic moment and launched a boat in pursuit. The attacking party boarded their vessel again and tried to escape. But unable to outdistance their pursuers the crew were seized with a panic, ran ashore, and took to the woods. This victory gave Hyde the advantage, for with the brigantine in his power, the Governor was able to make terms; offering a free pardon to all except the ringleaders. Graf-

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 774.

² Col. Rec., vol. I, page 802.

fenried used this opportunity to have the council recognize Hyde—over a year after his appointment and about seven months after his arrival in the colony.

The peace was of short duration, however. Cary fortified himself on an island; and efforts to dislodge him proving unsuccessful in what may be called the second battle of the war, Graffenried was sent to Virginia for help. After a long and tedious journey, he arrived at Williamsburg and presented his petition. There was still the difficulty that Hyde lacked the signature of the Governor of South Carolina and Spotswood, therefore, scarcely dared send troops.¹ But finally in his position as Admiral of the Virginia coasts he sent a vessel with marines. He had hoped to send a fleet which was then in Virginia waters on their way home, but the Commander refused to go. The Governor also assembled militia troops on the frontier to be ready if anything serious should happen. On the 28 of July, 1711, he writes that the rebels were so alarmed that they fled at the arrival of the marines and so a third battle never took place.² Cary was caught and taken to England for trial, but the matter was dropped and nothing was ever done with him.

This short and bloodless war marks the beginning of the end for Graffenried's colony. Up until April and May of the year 1711 as the letters and the report show the colony prospered, and the people had enough to live on after the coming of Graffenried with the ship load of Swiss in September 1710. Immediately after the dispersal of the rebels an assembly was held, and Hyde was received as governor. Graffenried was present and hoped to receive help, but failed again. A proposition to borrow from the province on two or three year's time was also refused, for the whole northern province of Carolina was suffering from the confusion, and crops were bad because of neglect. When, finally, Graffenried was permitted to return from the assembly, having accomplished nothing for their relief, he found his people without food, many of them sick, and several of them dead, because of their neg-

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 779 ff.

² Col. Rec., vol. I, page 783.

lect of his very sensible order to boil all their drinking water. The disease which took so many of them away at this time, from Graffenried's description, seems to have been typhoid fever, and the injunction to use plenty of boiled water was the best remedy that could have been prescribed for them.

In some way or other Graffenried and his colony managed to get along till about the first of September. At that time, since the weather seemed suitable, and the Indians well disposed, he had no great fear of making a fifteen days' exploring expedition up the river with Surveyor Lawson. The plan was to see how far the river was navigable, and to find out if a better road to Virginia might not be made on the higher ground and thus save the dangerous voyages by way of the Albermarle Sound which was very treacherous on account of the numerous shoals and shifting sand bars. They went in a canoe with two negro servants and two friendly Indians, one of whom rode Graffenried's horse along the bank. On the second day from home the Indian who was riding the horse was halted by one of King Hancock's men, and the whole party taken before that chief. Only a few days before this Graffenried had been very hospitably used, when he had lost his way in the woods, for they kept him over night and even took some cider from a sick woman in order to give to him, and the next day guided him home. He in turn had payed their generosity with presents, not forgetting a little brandy for the invalid, and consequently he hardly expected this treatment. But since he had last seen them, the Indians had begun to plan a revenge for some of their wrongs. Graffenried gives Cary credit for having before this slandered him to them, by making them believe that he, Graffenried, intended to rob them of their lands. Other Carolinians had robbed them in trade and disturbed them in their hunting, and the exploring party, which, at least looked suspicious to them, had the misfortune to come just as the Indians were assembling for the attack.

CHAPTER XI.

Documents to prove that the Indians had cause for resentment at their treatment by the English.

In view of the idea people generally have of the Indians as descending without provocation upon helpless frontier settlements and satisfying an inhuman thirst for blood on innocent victims, it has seemed well to quote a few extracts from Lawson's Journal, Spotwood's letters, the memoirs of Sir William Byrd, and the Colonial Records, to show that the Indians in Carolina had, at least, reason to be alarmed at the encroachments on their territories, and dissatisfied with their treatment by their English neighbors.

"The next day, early, came two Tuskeruru Indians to the other side of the River, but could not get over. They talked much to us, but we understood them not. In the Afternoon, Will (the Indian Guide) came with the Mare and had some Discourse with them; they told him the English, to whom he was going, were very wicked People; and, That they threatened the Indians for hunting near their Plantations".¹

"Thus you have an account of the Latitude, Soil, and Advantages of Cape Fear, or Clarendon-River, which was settled in the year 1661, or thereabouts; and had it not been for the irregular Practices of some of that Colony against the Indians, by sending away some of their Children, (as I have been told) under Pretence of instructing 'em in Learning and the Principles of the Christian Religion;² which so disgusted the Indians that tho' they had then no Guns, yet they never gave over, till they rid themselves of the English by their Bows and Arrows; with which they did not only take off themselves, but also their Stocks of Cattle. And this was so much the more ruinous to them, in that they could have no Assistance from South Carolina which was not then planted; and the other Plantations were but in their Infancy. Were it not for such ill Practices, I say, it might, in all Probability have been, at this day, the best Settlement in their Lordships great Province of Carolina".³

¹ Lawson's Journal, page 58.

² He means selling them into slavery.

³ Lawson's Journal, page 73.

The next is an extract of a letter from Governor Spotswood to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, April 5th, 1717.

“The Inhabitants of our frontiers are composed generally of such as have been transported hither as Servants, and being out of their time, and settle themselves where Land is to be taken up and that will produce the necessarys of Life with little Labor. It is pretty well known what Morals such people bring with them hither, which are not like to be much mended by their Scituation, remote from all places of worship; they are so little concern’d about Religion, that the Children of many of the Inhabitants of those frontier Settlements are 20, and some 30 years of age before they are baptized, and some not at all.

“Those who are nearest Neighbors to the Indians, by whose principles and practices they are not like to be much improved, but this is not all, for these people, knowing the Indians to be lovers of strong liquors, make no scruple of first making them drunk and then cheating them of their skins, and even of beating them in the bargain; on the other hand, the Indians, being unacquainted with the methods of obtaining reparation by Law, frequently revenge themselves by the murder of the persons who thus treated them, or, (according to their notions of Satisfaction) of the next Englishmen they could most easily cutt off. And it is a very generall observation, both here and the neighboring Provinces, that no murders or hostility have ever been committed by the Indians unless where the English have given the first provocation”.¹

Colonel Byrd has this to say with reference to the troubles under consideration: “There are generally some Carolina Traders that constantly live among the Catawbas and Pretend to Exercise a dictatorial Authority among them. These petty Rulers don’t only teach the honester Savages all sorts of Debauchery, but are unfair in their dealings, and use them with all kinds of Oppression. Nor has their Behavior been at all better to the rest of the Indian Nations, among whom they reside, by abusing their Women and Evil-Entreating their

¹ Spotswood, vol. II, page 227.

Men; and, by the way, this was the true Reason of the fatal war which the Nations roundabout made upon Carolina in the year 1713.¹

“Then it was that the Neighboring Indians grown weary of the Tyranny and Injustice with which they had been abused for many Years, resolved to endure their bondage no longer, but enter’d into General Confederacy against their Oppressors of Carolina.

“The Indians open’d the War by knocking most of those little Tyrants on the Head that dwelt amongst them under pretence of regulating their Commerce, and from thence Carry’d their Resentment so far as to endanger both North and South Carolina’’.²

An actual instance of oppression had occurred a few years before. In 1707 the Maherine Indians had been assigned lands for their use by the government of Virginia; and since they were living in peace with the English in both Virginia and Carolina, no complaint of depredations were ever made against them. Their lands, however, were the subject of dispute between the two provinces, and as the line had not been run yet the quarrel could not be settled. Thomas Pollock wanted these lands for his own use and attempted to drive the Indians off with armed force. He captured 36 of them, kept them for two days in a fort, without water, in the meantime he broke down their cabins and threatened to destroy their corn crop if they did not move off the reservation. As the Indians could have had no very clear notion of the dispute between Carolina and Virginia, and had been promised the peaceful possession of their land by the Virginia government, this encroachment by Pollock must have shaken their faith in the honesty of the white men. Even if the lands lay in territory south of 36° 30' (a matter which was not settled till years after)³ it was unjust and impolitic to make them suffer for the mistake of the Virginia government. The Virginians natur-

¹ The time of their final defeat. Their massacres were made in the fall of 1711 and the summer of 1712.

² Byrd, page 239.

³ Byrd, page 3. The line was run in 1728.

ally expected the Indians to call on other Indians to help them retaliate. In 1710 complaints were sent by the assembly of North Carolina to Virginia that these Maherines were committing depredations.¹ Spotswood did nothing about it and expressed no sympathy because he says the whites had been the aggressors.²

CHAPTER XII.

Graffenried a prisoner—Lawson killed—Graffenried kept a prisoner—The Indians plan to massacre English and Germans—Discussion of the cause of the massacre—The blame laid on the late rebels—Documents proving that others besides Graffenried believed them guilty—Graffenried's truce—Attack by the English and Palatines—Graffenried agrees to a ransom and is allowed to go home—Spotswood approves of the truce—English and Palatines disapprove and plot against his life.

Had Graffenried been alone it would have been better for him on this exploring expedition, for the Indians knew he had never done them any harm, but they disliked Lawson because of his having cheated them.³ At first the Indians were disposed to let both of them go when they found who they were. But at a second examination, Lawson could not refrain from quarreling with one of his captors, and this destroyed all possibility of a release. The Indians in anger prepared to execute both men. Bound hand and foot, the victims sat on the ground and watched the preparations, not the least frightful of which was the great heap of burning wood. Graffenried, however, managed to speak to one of the Indians who

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 754.

² Col. Rec., vol. I, page 667 ff.

³ Byrd, page 228.

"It was on that Provocation they resented their wrongs a little too severely upon Mr. Lawson, who under Colour of being Surveyor gen'l had encroached too much upon their territories at which they were so much enraged that they waylaid him and cut his throat from ear to ear, but at the same time released the Baron de Graffenried, whom they had seized for Company, because it appeared plainly he had done them no wrong."



GRAFFENHED, LAWSON AND NEGRO SERVANT EXPECTING INJECTION
Drawing by Graffenried

understood a little English, explained his innocence and also threatened them with the Queen's displeasure and the vengeance she would take if they harmed him, but his arguments did not seem to have much effect at first; so in expectation of immediate torture and death he fortified himself and his negro slave with prayer and exhortation and found peace of mind in these exercises. About three or four o'clock in the morning he was unbound and led away, as he supposed, to his death, but the Indian signified to him that his life was to be spared and only Lawson would have to die, and so it proved. Just what the manner of his death was Graffenried never learned, for the Indians steadfastly refused to divulge it; but he had heard them threaten to cut Lawson's throat with a razor.¹ Yet while Graffenried's life was spared, they did not let him go immediately, but kept him a prisoner for six weeks.

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 836.

From a letter of Christopher Gale, November 3, 1711.

"But the fate of Mr. Lawson (if our Indian information be true) was much more tragical, for we are informed that they stuck him full of fine small splinters of torch wood like hog's bristles and so set them gradually afire."

The following from Lawson's Journal (197) in this connection has a groomsome interest:

"Their cruelty to their Prisoners of War is what they are seemingly guilty of an error in, (I mean as to a natural Failing) because they strive to invent the most Inhumane Butcheries for them that the Devils themselves could invent, or hammer out of Hell; they esteeming Death no Punishment, but rather an Advantage to him, that is exported out of this into another world. Therefore they inflict on them Torments in which they prolonged Life in that miserable state as long as they can, and never miss skulping of them, as they call it which is, to cut off the Skin from the Temples, and taking the whole Head of Hair along with it, as it were a Night-cap. Sometimes they take the Top of the Skull along with it; all which they preserve; and carefully keep by them, for a Trophy of their Conquest over their Enemies. Others keep their Enemies Teeth, which are taken in War, whilst others split the Pitch pine into Splinters and stick them into the Prisoner's Body yet alive. Thus they light them, which burn like so many Torches; and in this Manner they make him dance around a great Fire, every one buffeting and deriding him till he expires, when every one strives to get a Bone or some Relick of this unfortunate Captive."

During this time the indirect consequences of the civil difficulties were felt by the Colony. The violence of the feeling in the later Cary disturbances make it manifestly impossible for the partisans of either side to be fair to the others, and unfortunately, since the record of the quarrel was written by strong partisans of Hyde, statements must be accepted with caution. Graffenried¹ occasionally, and Spotswood² repeatedly, state that Cary and the other opponents of Hyde tried to bring down the Indians to aid them in their resistance. Such a crime is hard to believe, and Weeks³ does not credit these statements, because the district of Bath, which was friendly to Cary, suffered as severely as New Bern, which favored Hyde. Nevertheless, the Indians somehow had gotten the notion that Hyde was their enemy, and it does not seem unlikely that Cary and others might have gone among them to enlist help. For on July 28, 1711 Governor Spotswood writes:

“There are several affidavits sent me to prove that one Porter who is one of Cary’s pretended Council was with the Tuscaruro Indians promising great Rewards to incite them to cut off all the Inhabitants of that part of Carolina that adhered to Mr. Hyde. The Indians own that the proposal was accepted by their young men, but that their old men (who bare great Sway in all their Councils) being by their own nature Suspicious of some trick or else directed by a Superior providence, refused to be concerned in that barbarous design”.⁴ Such positive statements and the fact that Graffenried’s death was determined when they supposed him to be Governor Hyde, and let him go when they found who he really was, help to confirm the report.⁵ Moreover, the crime, though great, of using the savages as allies was duplicated by the English Government as late as during the Revolution and the War of 1812, so that the mere repulsiveness of the thought does not disprove the fact.

¹ German Version.

² Col. Rec., vol. I, page 776. Spotswood, vol. I. pp. 84, 94, 108.

³ Johns Hopkins Studies, vol. X, page 300 ff.

⁴ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 796; see also page 802 for statement by Hyde.

⁵ German Version.

Although at the time of the Cary troubles, the Indians did not make any moves against the white settlers, such invitations, if one may trust reports like the above, certainly showed them the colony's weakness. And it is but natural that they determined to profit by it. Notwithstanding their personal friendship for Graffenried, they were still savages and acted the part by massacring all the whites in the Bath County they could reach, whether Swiss, Palatines or English.

Spotswood thus describes one of these massacres: "On the 22nd of the last month some towns of the Tuscaruro Indians and other Nations bordering on Carolina, made an incursion upon the head of the Neuse and Pamlico Rivers, in that province, without any previous declaration of War or show of discontent, and having divided themselves into partys at Sun rise (which was the Signal for their bloody design) began a barbarous Massacre, on the Inhabitants of the Frontier plantations, killing without distinction of age or Sex, 60 English and upwards of that number of Swiss and palatines, besides a great many left dangerously wounded. The Baron de Graffenried, Chief of the Swiss and Palatines' Settlement there, is also fallen into their hands and carryed away Prisoner. Since which they have continued their Ravages in burning those plantations and others deserted by the Inhabitants for fear of the like Crueltys. The Governor, Mr. Hyde, has raised what men he can to oppose the further Invasion of the heathen and protect the rest of the Country, but that Spirit of disobedience to which they have long been accustomed, still prevails so much that he can hardly persuade them to unite for their common Safety. I will not affirm that the invitation given those Savages some time ago by Collo. Cary and his party to cutt off their fellow Subjects has been the only occasion of this Tragedy, tho' that heavy charge is proved by divers Testimony and firmly believed in Carolina. Yet it appears very reasonable to believe that they have been greatly encouraged in this attempt by the unnatural Divisions and Animosities among the Inhabitants, and I very much fear their mutinous and Cowardly behavior in some late

Skirmishes will Embolden the Indians to continue their Insolences".¹

The plan of this massacre was perfected while Graffenried was still a prisoner among the Indians. He knew of their design and was in anxiety for his people, of course, but although the redmen promised that they would spare such of the Palatines as were in the city, he was not much comforted, for he had no way of warning his people to retire from their farms to the village. In a few days the warriors with the prisoners and the booty returned. Among these prisoners was a Palatine boy, and from him he learned that many of the Palatines as well as English had been slaughtered.

Graffenried now saw no hopes of getting back home except by making a treaty of neutrality between himself and the Indians. By this he was to give a ransom for his own life and help neither the English nor the Indians during the war, and in return all his colonists' houses marked with a big N were to be safe from harm.

Another important clause provided that the Indians should be allowed to buy goods at reasonable rates. The colonists had not gone into the Indian trade as yet, but by the report, memorial and letters² we learn they were intending to do so, and in April had sent in orders for goods, knives, brass rings, and pipes, but had not yet had time to get them back, when Urmstone writes July 17 that the Indians, incited by jealous traders, had been annoying the colony.³ One cannot suppose the Germans, knowing that the Indians were unfriendly, would go among them later if their goods should have come. Graffenried himself seems to have felt that all was not well when Lawson persuaded him to go up the river to explore; and so the clause can scarcely be directed against him or his colony, but rather shows that there was dissatisfaction with the professional traders and their extortions, against which the Indians intended to secure themselves beforehand by a

¹ Spottswood, vol. I, page 116.

² German Version.

³ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 774.

treaty, in case they and the Germans should have dealings together.

After Graffenried had been some time among them, Spotswood wrote a letter ordering the Indians to release their prisoner, with no better result than to anger them the more. Spotswood had gone to a village called Notaway, and Graffenried meanwhile was taken to a village called Tasqui which lay in the direction of Notaway; but he was disappointed in his hopes of meeting the Governor, and soon after was taken to Catechna for security, because the Indians were afraid of losing the ransom. While he was here, the English and Palatines made an attack which angered the Indians very much in view of Graffenried's treaty, though, of course, his people knew nothing of such an agreement as yet. The attack, furthermore, hampered Graffenried's negotiations for liberty, and it was with difficulty that he made the Indians believe that his people had not been among the assailants. This attack also alarmed the Indians to such an extent that they moved their wives, children and old men to their fortified stronghold near Catechna, and the Carolinians, unable to capture the position, were forced to retreat with some loss in killed and captured. When they were gone the Indians returned to Catechna and Graffenried was set at liberty under promise of sending back the ransom. After two days' hard traveling and sleeping at night on the ground and in constant danger of wild beasts and hostile Indians, he reached home about October 30.

Graffenried expected as far as possible to keep the truce he had made, and greatly angered ¹ some of the English and

¹ Spotswood, vol. I, page 142. (Extract of a letter)

February 8, 1711.

"The Baron de Graffenried being obliged, while he was a prisoner among the Indians, to conclude a Neutrality for himself and his Palatines lives as yet undisturbed by the Heathen, *but is sufficiently persecuted by the people of Carolina for not breaking with the Indians, tho' they will afford him neither provisions of War or Victuals nor Assistance from them.* He has always declared his readiness to enter into a war as soon as he should be assisted to prosecute it, but it would be madness in him to expose his handful of people to the fury of the Indians, without some better assurance of help than the present confusions in that

Palatines when he refused to allow them to kill the Indian who came for the ransom. But he also delayed giving the ransom in hopes of inducing the Indians to free the other prisoners whom they still held. He also gave much valuable information concerning the situation to the English. It was on this account, he says, that a man Brice, who had estranged many of his people including a Palatine blacksmith, prepared 20 or 23 articles against him, tried to arrest him, and threatened to have him hung.

CHAPTER XIII.

Discovery of the plot—Measures taken for the defence of the town—Graffenried begins to make plans to go to Virginia—A letter of Spotswood showing the condition of the colonists—Brice's thoughtless attack precipitates war—Graffenried's part in the war—Barnwell's breach of faith—Indians prepare for a new massacre—Graffenried's condition—Visit to Governor Hyde—Loss of a boat load of provisions—Graffenried goes to Virginia to plan for a new settlement.

Brice and his friends had plotted well, but their cause was destined to ruin by a trivial incident. While the plot was being made, a little Palatine boy was in the room, unno-

province given him reasons to hope for, and the Indians would soon Either Entirely destroy that settlement or starve them out of the place by killing their stocks and hindering them from planting corn. In the meantime the people of Carolina receive very great advantage by this Neutrality, for by that means the Baron has an opportunity of discovering and communicating to them all the designs of the Indians, tho' he runs the Risque of paying dear for it if they ever come to know it. This makes him so apprehensive of his danger from them, and so diffident of help or even justice from the Government under which he is, that he has made some efforts to remove with the Palatines to this Colony upon some of her Majesty's Lands; and since such a number of people as he may bring with him, with what he proposes to invite over from Swisserland and Germany, will be of great advantage to this Country and prove a strong Barrier against the incursions of the Indians if they were properly disposed above our inhabitants. I pray your Lord 'ps' directions what encouragement ought to be given to their design, . . . (Italics are mine. V. H. T.)

ticed by the conspirators. He knew something was wrong and told his mother. She, being friendly to the Baron, got word to him; and when Brice and his friend came to get him they found themselves in a trap. But because of lack of direct evidence against them, Graffenried had to let them go. At a meeting of the assembly Graffenried justified himself in an impassioned speech, answering the series of complaints which had been made against him, but could get no satisfactory decision. The truce with the Indians was acceptable to no one, because the people, Germans and English, were angered against the Indians and anxious for a revenge. It appears that Graffenried would have had the truce include the whole province, but no one would hear of such a proposition in their eagerness for retaliation. The situation among the colonists, too, was far from favorable, for after the first massacre Brice had drawn off with him a large number of the Palatines; and this not only left the outlying homes of the disaffected ones unprotected, but also materially reduced the defending force of the town. With the situation as it was on his return, Graffenried was too prudent to trust to the truce, and immediately began to fortify his town and to collect supplies and munitions of war.

In the meantime although no large marauding parties took the warpath, many smaller bands of Indians harassed the outlying districts, and kept the colonists in suspense for fear of an extensive and concerted attack. Just at this unfortunate moment the new disturbing element again asserted itself. Brice and his followers began a campaign, with most of the able bodied men in the Palatine settlement in their following. The exact time of this unofficial expedition is uncertain, but it was probably just before the general attack in January. Their most atrocious act of violence was the roasting alive of an innocent Indian chief, which, while not particularly barbaric beside the Indian massacres of the autumn before, was sufficient to arouse the savage wrath. Moreover, the campaign had other and more far reaching effects. The Indians, not only attacked and destroyed more outlying homes, but chiefly they lost confidence in Graffenried, who previously

had been the one man who could act as a mediator between them and the whites.

But Graffenried was in sore straits in other ways. Added to the danger of sure attack and possible siege was the danger of starvation, for the stores were running short. One alternative was thought of only to be abandoned—it was to send away all the families whose men had followed Brice; but they begged so hard to be allowed to remain, promising valiant aid in case of need, that Graffenried was touched and acquiesced. But courage nor the promise of courage availed to create foodstuffs, and starvation became imminent. Possibilities of making a new settlement in Virginia were discussed, but all such plans were for the time being abandoned for they still hoped to save the settlement at Newbern. With insufficient food supplies and ammunition for an extended campaign, without forts or stockades of sufficient strength to resist attack, the province awaited war with a cunning, cruel, and savage people. It was an awful time. The situation is nowhere better described than in the following extract of a letter written by Spotswood on December 28, 1711. “The shortness of their crops, occasioned by their Civil Dissensions last Summer and an unusual Drowth that succeeded, together with the Ravages made by the Indians among their Corn and Stocks, gives a dreadful prospect of a Famine, Insomuch that the Baron de Graffenried writes he shall be constrained to abandon the Swiss and Palatines’ Settlement, without speedy Succours, the people being already in such despair that they have burnt their own houses rather than be obliged to stay in a place exposed to so many hardships”.¹

The Indians, on the other hand, were well equipped, and in addition, capable of mustering large numbers almost at their very doors. And here was Brice with a small force of English and Palatines declaring war before any preparation could be made, and thereby destroying the only thing, slight as it was, which stood between the province and the Indians—Graffenried’s truce. With the truce broken thus, Graffenried realized that the only safety lay in prosecuting the war as

¹ Spotswood, vol. I, page 132.

vigorously as possible; and when 50 white men and 800 tributary Indians under Colonel Barnwell came from South Carolina, he sent 50 Palatines under Michel to assist in the attack of the Indian fort. These hostilities took place in January 1712.¹ In the first battle the Indians had the advantage, and then Graffenried suggested that two small cannons belonging to the province be used. These he had slung on poles and transported to the place of battle. Two shots from them were sufficient to frighten the Indians into submission, and a truce was arranged, leading to a release of the captives which the Indians still held. Thus ended the first hostilities.

The end of the Indians troubles, however, brought the Germans little relief, and at this time Graffenried exercised one of the rights of a lord over his leetmen, in permitting such of his settlers as wished to work for the English planters, to leave their own colony for two years, during which time they should be free from their quit rents.²

Concerning Graffenried's part in this "war" there seems to be some difference of opinion, for Spotswood's letter previously quoted contradicts Graffenried's statement. But this is probably due to the fact that the former's letter was written before he received information concerning the battle in which the Indians were defeated through the use of the cannons which Graffenried had sent to be of assistance to the attacking party. But he was acquainted with the Baron's attitude towards the Indians and knew about his treaty with them. He knew, probably, of the unpopularity of Graffenried's truce and from such indications concluded that he was not taking part in the efforts to subdue the savages.

But the close of hostilities did not bring security. The Indians were far from subdued, even after this battle, for a piece of barbarous injustice practiced on them by Barnwell enraged them more than ever. His men were not paid the salary due them and to reimburse themselves they treacherously took a great many of the Core Indians prisoners to sell

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 839.

² French Version.

as slaves, and people with reason began to fear another outbreak.

Renewal of the war was not, however, the greatest danger to the New Bern settlers, for not long after the treaty of peace was made, Graffenried's provisions, except one measure of wheat, were consumed, and the ammunition, too, was low, for it had now been twenty-two weeks since his return from captivity, and during this time he had been compelled to support his little garrison with what he had been able to store up during the summer preceding. Graffenried decided to appeal once again to the Province, hoping in such straits to obtain aid. To this end he undertook what proved to be a perilous journey, but only to be disappointed. For the Governor could do but little for him; he did, however, supply him with a boatload of provisions, which never reached his poor settlers, for at the mouth of the Neuse River the crew carelessly let fire get among some tobacco leaves and it spread to a cask of gunpowder. The men escaped, but the boat was lost; and with it went the last hope of relief for New Bern.

During this time Graffenried was detained at Hyde's for six weeks by governmental affairs. The principal business was how to meet and ward off the threatened attacks of the Indians. Graffenried advised that the exportation of provisions be forbidden, and that new help be secured from Virginia and South Carolina. Governor Spotswood in a letter of July 26, writes as follows: "I thereupon made extraordinary efforts to assist them with 200 white men and Indians as your Lordship will observe in the Journal of the Council the 24th, of April last and accordingly directed the Rendevouze of those forces on the 10th of May".¹ This in answer to the petition of the assembly would fix the date of the Parliament some time before April 24, probably in March. The session lasted six weeks, before the end of which Graffenried learned of the ill fate of his boat, and his next efforts were to secure other provisions, which he sent in a larger boat, in order that as many of his settlers as wished to, might come to him in Virginia or Maryland where he now intended to resettle. It appears

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 862.

that he went directly from Governor Hyde's to the Governor of Virginia after transacting the official business, and petitioned for the help above mentioned, and then explored along the Potomac for a suitable location, and also attempted to find the silver mines which he had heard so much about. The results of this trip, however, could not have been encouraging if we are to judge from contemporary comment. In a letter of Governor Spotswood written May 8, 1712, occurs this passage: "According to what I had the hon'r to write to Your Lord'ps in my last, the Baron de Graffenried is come hither with a design to settle himself and sev'll Swiss familys in the fforks of Potomack but when he expected to have held his Land there of her Majesty, he now finds Claims made to it both by the Proprietors of Maryland and the Northern Neck".¹ (i. e. Culpeper)... As a result he had to chose a place more on the frontier than he had hoped, and again as though fated, the Palatines were to become a forepost against the Indians.

CHAPTER XIV.

The new location—Prospecting for silver—Governor Spotswood's letter describing the same event—Graffenried returns to Carolina—Governor Hyde's death—Graffenried disappointed in Michel; makes one last effort—Graffenried in Virginia—Moore defeats the Indians March 20, 1713.

The places chosen for the new start were just below the falls of the Potomac about where Washington now stands and at an island which he calls Canavest, further up the river. Graffenried went as far as the Shenandoah River, which he writes Senantona, but seems to have preferred the location nearer the English settlements, which he describes as a most charming location at the head of navigation for large vessels. The Governor gave him the necessary patents, and several gentlemen from Pennsylvania came to confer with him about mines. The soil and situation pleased him, but the best search he could give showed no signs of silver (and never has since, though a tradition to the effect that silver exists somewhere in the mountains thereabouts causes a few people to search

¹ Spotswood, vol. I, page 152.

for it even to this day). The men from Pennsylvania returned to their homes very badly satisfied, while he himself was convinced that Michel's story was a fabrication. As for Michel, he failed to appear, although Graffenried waited and did not return to the Governor until long after his partner was due. From him he learned that the Captain whom he had sent to convoy the brigantine had waited six days, and then nothing appearing, the mate had gone out in the yawl and found the boat stuck fast, and the people gone. The Governor was naturally very much disgusted with such treatment, and at first was inclined to blame Graffenried as well as Michel since the latter was supposed to act under orders. Learning, however, that Michel had been duping them both, his resentment toward Graffenried changed to pity for the chief sufferer.

A letter written by Spotswood July 26, 1712 reports Graffenried's trip up the Potomac as follows, and is self-explanatory of the Governor's attitude. "At present I cannot think of anything of greater concernment to this Country, as well as the particular Service of her Majesty, than what I hinted to Your Lord'ps in my letter of the 15th of May, for encouraging the discovery of silver mines. I have, since the return of the Baron de Graffenried from Potomack, discoursed him concerning the probability of Mines in these parts, he says, tho' he has no doubts of finding such from the accounts he received from one Mr. Mitchell, a Swiss Gentleman who went on the like discovery some years ago, Yet he finds himself much discouraged from prosecuting his first intentions, not only because of the uncertainty of the property of the soil, whether belonging to the Queen or the proprietors, but because the share which the Crown may claim in those Mines is also uncertain, and that after all his trouble in the discovery he may chance to have his labour for his pains. Whereas he would gladly employ his utmost diligence in making such discoveries if it were once declared what share her Majesty would expect out of the produce of the Mines, or if her Majesty would be pleased to take the Mines into her hands, promising him the superintending of the works with a hand-

some Sallary, he says it is a matter not new to him, there having been Mines of the like nature found on his father's lands in Switzerland, which were at first wrought for the benefit of the State, but turning to small account were afterward Yielded to the proprietors of the soil upon paying a share out of the produce thereof; that he has some relatives now concerned therein, and by their interest can procure skilful workmen out of Germany for carrying on the works. I shall submit to your Lor'ps better judgment, which of the alternatives proposed by the Baron will be best for her Majesty's service, and shall hope for a speedy signification of her Majesty's pleasure thereon, for promoting a design which I can but believe will turn out to the advantage of her Majesty and the improvement of this Colony. The Baron has not been so far up the Potomac as to discover the head Springs of that River nor to make a true draught of their Course, so that I can't now send Your Lor'ps the Mapps I promised in my last, nor forme a Judgment of the pretentions of the sev'll proprietors''¹

Whatever lingering hopes, as indicated by this letter, Graffenried may have had in his ability to find and develop deposits of silver ore and to found a new colony in Virginia or Maryland were dissipated by the failure of the Palatines and Swiss to come to him in Virginia. Seeing there was no hope of making a new start in a more favorable location, Graffenried went back to North Carolina and stayed some time with Governor Hyde. While there they all fell sick and on September 9 the Governor died. Graffenried stayed on two weeks longer and then returned to New Bern. Again the governorship was offered him, but he had to refuse on account of his precarious financial condition. The man sent to fix the brigantine found it too much damaged to repair,² and Graffenried was allowed nothing for either of his two boats although he considered them destroyed in the service of the province. Attempts to get satisfaction from Michel brought nothing better than proposals to settle in Mexico or along the

¹ Spotwood, vol. I, page 168.

² Col. Rec., vol. I, page 867.

Mississippi River, and Graffenried was persuaded that his only hope would be to take his two slaves and settle at Canavest and gradually draw a few people about him. This would be difficult because his creditors, including Pollock, were suspicious. In fact when his two slaves, who liked him for a master, tried to cross the river to him, they were caught and held for their master's debts. In this condition, heavily in debt, almost penniless, his pet schemes demolished, his partner faithless, he retired to Virginia September 20, 1712,¹ where he stayed until spring among his friends, trying all the time to get help. His friends, however, could only advise him to go back to England or Bern, as it would not be safe for him to try to stay in Virginia, nor to go among the Indians for the traders would be sure to find him out and tell his creditors. This truly disheartening situation was cheered a little perhaps by the news that on March 20, 1713,² Colonel Moore administered a crushing defeat to the Tuscurora Indians with the very troops Graffenried had helped to secure.

CHAPTER XV.

The journey home—Graffenried meets his miners in London—Arranges for their passage to America—His own affairs do not keep him long in England—Discussion of the language of his manuscripts—Efforts to relieve his colony—Life as a Swiss official—Death.

Having exhausted all his resources in America, Graffenried had only two alternatives—to let the law take its course, or else to try to get assistance from abroad. He chose the latter, and on Easter day 1713 Graffenried started for New York, traveling on horse-back. After a short stay there, he left for England, landing at Bristol after a six weeks' voyage. In London he met Mr. Eden whom the proprietors were sending out to take Hyde's place. He also met Albrecht with twelve miners and their families, 40 persons altogether. These were the men whom he and Michel had originally engaged to come to America when sent for. They had, however, become tired of

¹ Col. Rec., vol. II, page 144.

² Col. Rec., vol. II, page 27.

waiting and now were preparing to come anyway. When Graffenried found them they were in hard straits, and looked to him for the assistance he had contracted with them to furnish, entirely overlooking the fact that he had told them to stay in Germany until they should be summoned. His only suggestion, so far, of removal to America had been that in case the miners so desired, the master and one or two men might come to America to inspect the ground; but this was, clearly, no invitation or order to begin the trip. The situation was further complicated by Graffenried's financial embarrassment, for his own resources were slender, as we have seen, and he had still to live during the time that his business kept him in London, and, moreover, he had to retain enough to pay his passage home. He did not desert his miners, however, but going from one acquaintance to another, he got work for a part of them on a dike which was being repaired, and secured other employment to support them through the winter. Meantime he wrote to Virginia and arranged with Governor Spotswood for their reception there. Furthermore, he persuaded them to put their money into a common fund, and persuaded two merchants to forward their passage money, and about New Year's day they started and landed in Virginia April 28, 1714, where they were first settled as rangers and later put to work in working Spotwood's iron mines.¹

Meanwhile Graffenried had not delayed long in England, but had traveled incognito to his home. A lack of passports was a serious hindrance to him, but finally on St. Martin's day, 1713, he reached Bern. The three accounts vary. Professor Goebel's two versions very distinctly make his return home St. Martin's day, 1714, while the one printed in the Colonial Records of North Carolina makes it a year earlier, 1713. This, however, is but one of several items which indicate that at the time Graffenried wrote his accounts the story was becoming a little confused in some of its details,—a not uncommon occurrence with anyone who tries to tell of events in his life a few years after they took place. His language in speaking of his stay in London is entirely misleading, as is

¹ Part I, chapter III.

shown by a quotation from Professor Goebel's French version, which probably was written last; "A Londres je fis Séjour de quelques Semaines (months in the Colonial Records and the German version) esperant de pouvoir presenter ma Supplication a la Reine Anna par le Duc de Beaufort, mon Patron, qui estoit le premier Lord Prop; de Caroline et Palatin de la Province, mais peu de tems avant qu'il voulust presenter ma supplication il est mort Subitement encore un coup de mon infortune bientost apres la Reine mourust elle meme, il ne faloit que cela pour m'oster tout esperance d'aucun retour. La dessus il y eust tant d'alterations a la Cour d'Angleterre que ie ne pouvois esperer aucune faveur de longtems en cette nouvelle Cour, quand meme on pouvoit conjecturer qu'avec le tems ce nouveau Roy come Allemande de Nation seroit enclin pour ma Colonie allemande". This certainly reads as though Graffenried were in London at the time of the death of these two personages and the accession of George I. So long a stay after his recent disasters in America leaving him almost penniless seems improbable, at least. Other sources, then, will have to be called upon to settle the matter. In the *Neujahrsblatt* there is a passage taken from Anton von Graffenried's Diary which says, "Den 2. Dezember 1713 ist der alt Landvogt von Ifferten aus America durch Engelland und Frankreich wieder allhier angelangt und hat mich erst den 10. Dezember salutirt". In addition to this evidence we know that Pollock received a letter from him written from Bern on April 30, 1714.¹ These two evidences taken with his own statements in the three versions prove that he made only a comparatively short stay in England, for he left Virginia at Easter time, or April 16, 1713, and went to New York, where he stayed for about two weeks. His voyage across the Atlantic occupied six weeks, and we are told that he rested awhile at Bristol before proceeding on horseback to London. He accounts, thus, with fair accuracy for eight weeks, but this allows no time for his sojourns in New York and Bristol nor for his journeys from Virginia to New York and from Bristol to London. But even eight weeks

¹ Col. Rec., vol. II, page 166.

would place his arrival in the middle of June. His actual time of arrival, however, was much later than this, owing to the stops and other delays, and can be roughly estimated by the remark when he met the newly appointed Governor Eden, that had he (Graffenried) come a month earlier, the position had fallen to him. Now since Eden was not appointed until August 13, 1713, Graffenried must have come later, perhaps about a month, somewhere near September 13.¹

His journey to Bern was also rather long, for he was beaten about by storms for three weeks in his passage across the channel; and then there was the remainder of the way to be covered by coach. Despite some further delays for passports and in finding his people when he reached Switzerland, he, nevertheless, finally reached his family St. Martin's day, November 11, 1713. This would leave him only a small part of August, if any, all of September and perhaps a part of October in England.

The most puzzling thing, however, is that anyone reading any of the three versions would suppose that Graffenried had been present at the time of the deaths of the Duke of Beaufort and of Queen Anne, and the Accession of George I, and had stayed after that until he was sure nothing would be done for his colony. But since Beaufort² died July 25, 1714; and Queen Anne³ August 1, 1714, and he had reached Bern in November of the year before, this is impossible, unless he made a second voyage to England, which is nowhere mentioned directly, and alluded to, if at all, in such vague terms that no one would suspect it on reading the accounts.

But his efforts for his colony did not stop even after he reached home. Yet the final chapter is brief. Too poor to sue his company for their breach of contract, he next tried to have a commission appointed to investigate and hear his proposition, but this was refused. His efforts to interest others failed, and at last, to his own regret, he had to abandon his colony.

¹ Col. Rec., vol. II, page 58.

² McCrady, page 526.

³ McCrady, page 527.

The story of the rest of his life is soon told. He was dependent upon his father for a support which was not cheerfully granted. And the following letter gives as much light on the father's character as on Christoph's.

"Ayez, Monsieur, la bonte de mettre en oubli le passé, et m'estant corrigé de depuis, ayez meilleure opinion de moy pour le present et advenir; Pourtant quoyque je vous aye chagriné par mon evasion et mes debts, cependant j'ay deservi mon Balliage avec honneur au contentment du Souverain et des Ressortissants, et n'ay rien comis d'atroce qui vous aye fait deshonneur, ny ay-je jamais, que je sache, manqué envers Vous de Respect ny de Soumission, pardonnez moy dont le passé et ne retouchez pas toujours cette corde fâcheuse, mais ayez moy, Monsieur et tres honorable Pere, en recommandation puisque je feray tous mes efforts pour vous contenter et vous montrer que ie suis avec toute l'obeissance Respect et Soumission *L'Enfant perdu retrouvé*, et amandéz, regardez moy donc aussi en *Pere benin* et faite moy sentir plus outre les effets de Votre Bienveillance".¹

In 1731 after the death of a brother, the Oberherr von Worb, Anton secured and sold to Christoph the management of the estate which went with the office, reserving for himself the revenues of the office. The management of the estate was not very lucrative, but the father thought he had made a rather generous expiation for his previous treatment. Next, when Anton became mayor of Murton he wanted a representative in Iverton; and although Christoph did not relish the place, still to please his wife he ran for it and was elected. In 1730 at Anton's death the estate of Worb came to Christoph without encumbrance, and he held it till 1740 when he retired in favor of his sons. Three years later he died and was buried in the choir of the Church at Worb, ending a life the last years of which while uneventful were not unpleasant.

¹ Neujahrsblatt, page 39.

CHAPTER XVI.

*Proof that Graffenried never came back to America to live—
Debt to Pollock unpaid—Last notices of the German settlers
and end of the New Bern adventures.*

It is improbable that Graffenried ever returned to America, although it has been asserted that he did. It appears that the Graffenried who lived in this country after 1714, was a son of, but *not* the Baron Christopher von Graffenried who founded the settlement at New Bern. According to the *Neujahrsblatt*, Christopher's eldest son came at the time of the settlement and stayed here after his father's departure, settling finally in Williamsburg, New York, where he married. The Virginia Magazine quotes the following from the files of the Virginia Gazette for February 18-25, 1736: "This is to give notice to all Gentlemen and Ladies that Mrs. Barbara de Graffenried intends to have a Ball on Tuesday the 26th of next April and an assembly on the 27th in Williamsburg: For which tickets will be delivered out at her Home". A footnote then states that "This was the wife of Christopher, Baron von Graffenried of Berne, Switzerland who brought over a colony of Swiss and Palatines to North Carolina in 1709". In the article to which the note is added in explanation, she is called "la Baronne de Graffenriedt". The statement of her being the wife of Christopher von Graffenried is made, but no proof is given, and other evidence would indicate that the Virginia Magazine is here in error.

Colonel William Byrd, also, in his memoirs mentions meeting a certain Madame de Graffenried not far from Williamsburg.¹ This lady could hardly be any other than the one named in the Virginia Magazine who lived at Williamsburg. According to the *Neujahrsblatt* Christopher's wife was named Regine Tscharner, while in the Virginia Magazine her given name is Barbara. The writer in the *Neujahrsblatt* is evidently mistaken about the son settling in Williamsburg, New York, but he would have no difficulty learning the name of Graffenried's wife if other means were lacking when he copied the inscription on the Graffenried memorial in the church at Worb.

¹ Byrd, page 326.

The most plausible explanation then is this, that the writer in the *Virginia Magazine* supposed because this lady was called la Baronne she must be the wife of Christoph von Graffenried, overlooking the fact that the title was hereditary and would belong to the eldest son and his wife even during the father's life time. The writer in the *Neujahrsblatt* with the means at his disposal could hardly have gotten the name of Christoph's wife wrong, but a confusion may have arisen between the two Williamsburgs and he wrote New York when he should have written Virginia. If all these suppositions are correct, Madame de Graffenried, the lady Colonel Byrd speaks of, and the wife of the son who stayed in America are all the same person; and this evidence, which so far as I can learn, is the only evidence, that the Baron ever returned to his country, is destroyed. Christoph's own statement that for 20 years no complaint has been made of his administration completes the proof if more is needed, for his official duties began in 1722 and lasted till 1742, and the notices of Madame de Graffenried's ball were printed in 1736.

One more disputed point concerning Graffenried needs to be settled. Careful searching of the Colonial Records down to Graffenried's death in 1743 make no mention of Pollock's having received more than the assignment of the Palatines' land, for the money due him on the loans. As he had lent much more than the 17500 acres were worth, he had reason to feel misused and defrauded, although Graffenried was acting in good faith, and fully expected assistance from the Proprietors and the Company. And when these sources failed him, he had nothing to pay with. Pollock also seems to have lost confidence in his honesty because of his failure to deliver letters to the Lords Proprietors as he was returning to England.¹ But the attitude is unjust for Graffenried complains

¹ Col. Rec., vol. II, page 145.

Oct. 20th, 1714.

"My first letter to you dated Sept. 20th, 1712 (a copy whereof is enclosed) I delivered myself to Baron Graffenried, who was then (going) to Verginia; and he told me that the Gouvernor of Verginia took care—his letters to London with his own pacquets, and that there was no—that they would come safe to your Lordships hands.—second letters, dated

that a box full of papers and curios was lost on the way to Europe, and these letters most likely were in it.¹ In a letter of February 10, 1715, Pollock asks him to pay 700£ at London and keep this title to the land he had taken up.² Grafenried's petition long before had been in the Duke of Beaufort's hands, waiting for a chance to be presented. Graffenried also had done all that could be done to extricate himself from his entanglements. As we have seen, however, the Duke died before the petition could be presented and only

April 2d 1713 immediately after the taking the great Indian Fort I sent into Virginia an I know they came to Baron Graffenried who was then in Virginia I would have sent (your Lordship) copies of all, but the state of affairs being much altered, and they being long, thought it not worth while to trouble your (Lordship) with them. What reason Baron Graffenried had to conceal (or) keep up my letters, I know not. I took him for a man of honour and integrity, but have found the contrary to my great loss."

¹ French Version.

² Col. Rec., vol. II, page 166.

North Carolina Febry 10th 1715

Hond Sir

Yours from Berne dated April 30th 1714 came to hand and (am glad to) understood you got safe to your own country, and I should (be) well satisfied, (if for your advantage and to pay it? your creditors) (you) could procure a new surety. But I could never have expected Baron Graffenried whom I always took to be a man of honour and honesty would have proposed to me to give away the matter of 900 pounds sterling money of England for nothing. You know how readily and fully (I served) you; you cannot but remember your reiterated promises that I should be fully and honestly satisfied. And now to propose to put me off with (nothing) is what I never expected of you. Your debt to me was 612 pounds, besides some other small debts I (paid) by your desire, after making up accounts: your debt to Cap ... and his brother was fifty six pounds which makes 668 pounds, the bills being pro(tested) the change and reexchange at 15 per cent is 91 pounds 4 sh(illings) makes with the charge in England for the protest near 770 pounds. To (which) will be two if not three years interest due before I can have it of you ... at London, which with the other small debts I have paid here for (you) and trouble of taking care of what insignificant matters you (left) here, having been forces to pay Mr. Graves for the surveying your land, and the heavy charge of a Land tax, will make your debt near 1000 pounds sterling money of England, of all which have received (but) 312 pounds in our public bills for your sloops et eact., which are of no use, seeing

a little while after, the Queen also; so that he received no help from England and it is probable that Pollock was never paid the money due him, for on March 29, 1743 some Palatines led by Jacob Sheets settled by Baron de Graffenried at Neuse showing their agreement with the said Baron and praying to have Title made out to them "in order that warrants might issue to them respectively for laying out their lands to each man his several proportion or otherwise to be secure in their possession.

"Then Cullen Pollock's Council produced a Patent to the said Pollock's father, Thomas Pollock Esq., deceased, for a large tract of land at Neuse which was read and it appearing to the Council that the said Patent take in the Palatine Lands", the suit was dismissed.¹

That the Palatines in the meantime had not been entirely without resources will appear from the Proclamation of the Council, Nov. 6, 1714, where "upon petition of the poor Palatines showing that they were disappointed of the lands stock and other necessary which was to be provided for them and are reduced to great want and poverty by the late war and

I can purchase nothing for them, but lie dead on my hand. And as for your goods, if you left any of any value, your friend Mr. Mitchell, the Mayor, and others of your people had conveyed an ... I having got nothing, save a little iron and some rusty nails for ... and other small things of little value.

You know that you purchased only 15000 acres of land of the Lords Proprietors, which is but 150 pounds sterling money, whereof at Mill Creek? there is only 8500 acres surveyed; the other 5000 acres not being yet taken up, which I intend to take up at White Oak River, as you designed. As for your two or three other small tracts, you not having paid the purchase to the Lords Proprietors, they were by law made here, with all other lands in Bath County that had not paid the purchase, lost: so I was obliged to purchase them of the Receiver General. And all the land, and what else is come to me of yours, is not really of the value of 200 pounds. And if you will pay me at London, so that I may be sure to have the money seven hundred pounds sterling money within this twelve month, you shall have what land you purchased of the Lords Proprietors, you shall have the public bills I had on your account, and what other small matter of goods I had of yours or the value as they are appraised.

¹ Col. Rec., vol. IV, page 632.

prays that they may have Liberty to take up four hundred Acres of land for each family at the rate of ten Pounds a thousand acres and that they may have two years day of payment for the same".¹ Apparently nothing was done at the time; for in 1747 another petition was made by the Palatines, this time, to the Right Honorable the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs.² Redress was slow but at length on March 16, 1748 His Majesty gave orders to Governor Johnston to give the settlers an equivalent of the Lands of which they had been dispossessed, free of quit rent for ten years. After that they were to pay the usual rents," *and as the settlement of the said Palatines will be a great addition to the strength of our said Province, and be a considerable advantage and Security to the Inhabitants whereof* ³ we do hereby direct and require you to recommend to the Assembly of our said Province to make speedy provision in such manner as they shall think proper for defraying the Charge of surveying the Land so as to be granted to the said Petitioners, and of issuing the Grants for the same and all other Charges attending such Survey and Grants".⁴ Two years later they were settled in what are now Craven, Jones, Onslow, and Duplin counties.⁵

This ends the story of the German settlement at New Bern as a distinctly German colony. The town had a prosperous growth and kept its original name, but as a financial venture it was a complete failure, due not to the incompetence of the leader, but to the force of circumstances and the niggardliness of those whose duty it was to contribute to his support.

¹ Col. Rec., vol. II, page 147.

² Col. Rec., vol. IV, page 954 which gives the text of the petition also; see also pp. 868, 873 ff.

³ The italics are mine, V. H. T.

⁴ Col. Rec., vol. IV, pages 958, 967.

⁵ Ashe, page 273.

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

The discovery of new material relating to New Bern—Comparison of manuscripts—New material in a French version—Negotiations of Bern for land—Considered going to Maryland—Graffenried's titles—Contract with the Proprietors—Voyage across the Atlantic—Illness of the colonists—Treaty with the Indians—Troubles with Michel—Description of the city of Newbern—Purchase of boats—Exploration for silver along the Potomac in detail—Indications of a treaty with Penn—Details of voyage to Europe—Details of his care for the miners—Additional efforts to secure help—A key to a French map of the Potomac.

When Graffenried returned from America disappointed in all his plans, he found plenty of people who blamed him for the misfortune "as though he had acted rashly and imprudently". It was to vindicate himself that he wrote of his adventures in America, and in order to allow himself to be more widely understood in Switzerland, he wrote in both French and German. For some reason he appears to have left two French versions, unless indeed, one is a copy of the other, which from comparison seems hardly probable. The French version in the library at Iverton, Switzerland, has been copied and translated for the *Colonial Records of North Carolina* where it may be found in Volume I, page 905. When Professor Goebel was writing his book on the Germans in America, (*Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika*) he found that there were other versions, and at considerable trouble and expense he had accurate copies of these made for his own use, in hopes that if they were published, they might throw some light on this early pioneer. The three manuscripts as nearly as can be judged by the translation in the *Colonial Records* which is a literal translation into poor English, are in many places word for word translations, or copies, of each other. The importance, then, of Professor Goebel's copies is that while they contain everything that the other version has, they also have much which is entirely lacking in the *North Carolina Records*.

It may be worth while to indicate in a very general way the most important differences between Professor Goebel's manuscripts and the others, especially where the former contains things not found in the latter, although most of the items have been referred to already in Part II.

The most natural comparison to make is between the two French versions, as they are most alike, being each divided into twelve *contretemps* which may be translated misfortunes. Where they treat of the same thing, they use the same language, except that Professor Goebel's copy often has things interspersed, which the other does not have, and occasionally the marginal notes are not placed in the same position. This last, however, is a minor difference and does not affect the sense of the text. Then, again, whole paragraphs are placed in different relative positions as regards the rest of the account. For instance, the chapter on Indian customs which comes at the end of the account in the *Colonial Records*, is placed in the body of the text in connection with the account of Graffenried's capture in Professor Goebel's French text. The omissions from, or additions to the original text must have been made by Graffenried himself or else by some one very familiar with the text; for he mentions several more attempts made to relieve his colony in Professor Goebel's French copy, which do not appear in other accounts, and adds in marginal notes two items which do not occur in the others, namely that Cary was banished to a distant island and there died, and that Michel died among the Indians. If these events were recorded after the accounts had been written, they would naturally be placed in the finished version. Now since Professor Goebel's French version has them, and since it seems to be more logically arranged as regards the time sequence of events, I am inclined to believe that it is the last copy Graffenried made. Moreover, he wrote in the beginning to justify himself in the eyes of his immediate friends, and this may account for the use of German, for the hasty and careless language and arrangement, and for the failure to adhere to the plan of writing it in "misfortunes". As to the exact date of Professor Goebel's version, we can safely say it was 1716; for al-

though there is no date given in the text, a marginal note makes such an inference exact.

However, the order in which the versions were written is of minor importance compared to the contents, since they must have appeared within a very few years of each other. The following paragraphs are intended to give what seems the most important contributions which Professor Goebel's manuscript makes to what is already accessible in the *Colonial Records of North Carolina*. Taking the French version first: this says that Bern negotiated through Stanian, the Envoy Extraordinary, for a place to found a colony which would be absolutely independent of any authority except the British sovereign, but was unsuccessful, because the Queen did not wish to work to the detriment of the colonial and proprietary governments. He received permission to take up land above the falls of the Potomac, but was persuaded that conditions were more favorable in North Carolina where land was cheaper, and where, under the proprietors, he would have more jurisdiction and various additional privileges. When he went to Virginia, he found that Culpepper had gotten ahead of him on a part of the land, and this would have compelled him to settle in Maryland farther from white settlers than he had hoped.

As a reward for their zeal in bringing him to the throne, Charles II gave to several gentlemen a large tract in North America with power to create hereditary titles of nobility. According to the French version, Graffenried was made Landgrave of Carolina, Baron de Bernberg, and Chevalier du Cordon Bleu, and in addition was given a medal. The regalia of his orders he wore whenever he went to the assembly, and he found it increased people's deference for him.

The amount of land he took up and the charges per acre have been given already.¹ Two other very important clauses of this agreement with the proprietors were the ones providing for religious liberty and for the furnishing of provisions and stock by the proprietors, the debts so contracted by the colony to be paid in three years. Then he says: "Je passe icy

¹ See Page 47.

sous Silence un Traitté fait avec William Penn Propriétaire de Pennsilvanie pour des Terres et des mines''. This is only one of several passages which show that such an agreement existed. Then follows a description of the town.

A description of New Castle, and the voyage across the Atlantic occupies several pages and has this of interest to us, that in connection with it he states that a box of curiosities, papers, and clothes which he had given to a ship's captain, was lost on the return voyage. This may explain Governor Pollock's grievance that the letters sent by Graffenried were not delivered.¹ The voyage over was without unpleasant accidents and has little worthy of mention here, although it makes interesting reading.

When Graffenried returned from Governor Hyde's in the summer of 1711, he found many of his people ill. This gives him opportunity to tell about the diseases the people were exposed to and the remedies to employ in such cases. In all this his good sense and care for his colonists is shown most clearly. He mentions, also, the insect and reptile pests they have to guard against, and then he discusses the building of the town.

He payed for the land twice, first to Lawson, and then to the Indians, and made an alliance with the Chief Taylor. Then to avoid trouble he bought the land over again, so that the Indians would be satisfied to move farther away. Taylor, along with seventeen heads of families, came in full attire at the appointed time, looking, as Graffenried thought, more like monkeys than men. He, not to be outdone, put on his most gaudy array; and the assembly sat down together on the ground. Graffenried first made his proposition; and they stated their objections, in which he says they had the better of the argument; but finally they agreed to sell what he wanted. The price was 500 bullets, 6 pounds of powder, 1000 large bullets, 500 small shot. Then after they had had a drink of rum, they made the treaty. While intoxicated, Mr. M. (evidently Mr. Michel) almost spoiled the negotiations by snatching off Taylor's head dress and beating the

¹ See page 104, note 1.

orator after he had dragged him from the circle. The Indians did not think that this treatment before the alliance augured well for peace afterwards, and were with difficulty persuaded to make a treaty. That night Michel again insulted the orator, and again Graffenried had to act as mediator. This same man caused so much annoyance that Graffenried had to invent ways of keeping him at a distance, one time provisioning him to survey along the Weetock River, and again sending him to Philadelphia to see about the silver mines, regarding which they had an express agreement with William Penn and the head miner, Justus Albrecht. The Indians naturally supposed that he sent him away for their sake, and it helped him afterwards while he was in captivity. He also called upon the Indians at Core town and promised to be a good neighbor to them. Then he took the surveyor and the clerk, and together they made the plan of the town. "As the people in America do not like to live crowded", he gave each house three acres and the streets were arranged like a cross. His artisans, who could do better in the city, had freedom from taxation for ten years, while the rest were free for three years. Then he enumerates the trades represented; among which ought to be particularly noticed the school master. Graffenried was empowered by the bishop of London to read sermons, marry and baptize. An indication is also given of a popular assembly when the town was named.

Prosperity seemed so certain that people outside even from as far away as Pennsylvania, took lots. The only thing lacking was ready money. All accounts agree that this was a serious difficulty. The province could not pay him and nothing had been received from Europe; but he trusted that if he could only get a message to the Georg Ritter Company by some person, they would help him out. One of the settlers was just going and was willing to take the message. This man, Bötschi ¹ by name, as the German version shows, abused the confidence placed in him by contracting debts in Graffenried's name in Philadelphia and Amsterdam. Nevertheless, he delivered his message faithfully. But the disasters of

¹ German Version, Report.

the following autumn, when the Indians captured Graffenried and Lawson, discouraged the Company in Bern and the Proprietors, so that, even if they had intended to assist him, which is more than doubtful, they now refused to risk their money. However, while he still believed that help would be sent him, he had bought two boats for use in trading and on one trip took a cargo of wheat to the Bermudas to exchange for salt. But the wheat was damaged in a storm and the profits consequently were lessened.

A considerable space in the book is then filled with his account of the trip to Canavest, the chief part of which, however, is a detailed description of the Indians shooting the rapids in canoes.

As an additional reason why he believed in Michel's stories of the silver mine, Graffenried states that M. M. had asked the Queen for patents, and together they had made a treaty with the miners in Europe, and Mr. Penn had made a treaty with them and had made M. M. director of minerals in Pennsylvania.¹

In showing the impossibility of Michel's last scheme of settling in Mexico or along the Mississippi, he goes further than the political reasons why Bern could not maintain a colony in territory disputed by England, France, and Spain, and states that at such a distance among hostile Indians a colony would not be able to exist at all.

The return to Europe is enlivened with a description of the wonders by the way, such as the meeting with an iceberg and a storm which almost foundered their ship, owing to the negligence of the captain. He tells in addition of how he found work on a dike for his miners who were in London when he arrived.

When he returned to Bern, he found himself financially unable to sue his company for breach of contract. When he presented his contract to the legislature and desired a commission to hear his complaint and his proposals, the request was not granted. He then made attempts to interest his relatives, a neighboring republic, some people in Germany, but

¹ The Colonial Records mention such a treaty once.

he was nowhere successful. He also tried to get Stanion, Envoy Extraordinary to the Corps Helvétique, to present a petition to King George I; but Stanion was made ambassador to Vienna about that time, and had to leave the affair unfinished. Another petition received for answer, that the wars were not ended and nothing could be done.

Along with the account but not an integral part of it, is a document which appears to be a key to the map of the Potomac River. It has a number of interesting comments on the country about the present site of Washington which consisted of a few plantations and had as yet no name.

These, then, are some of the things which Professor Goebel's French copy adds to what has been translated for the *Colonial Records of North Carolina*.

CHAPTER II.

Important additions to the German version are a report to the Ritter Company, the contract with the Ritter Company, a Memorial or account of life in the colony, letters from the colonists—Contents of the report—Reliability of the report and letters—The contract with Georg Ritter Company—The Memorial—Criticism of Graffenried mortgaging the settlers' lands.

In the German account there is little that the Colonial Records do not have though it is a satisfaction to read the man's exact language. Connected with it, however, are several documents of very great importance. The first of these is the report Graffenried sent to the company in Bern. Then follow in order the contract with the Georg Ritter Company, a *Memorial* or account, apparently written at the time of the report, describing the conditions in America, and a number of letters written by Swiss settlers to their friends and relatives in the home land.

This report, and these letters do more to clear Graffenried's character than anything else which has come down to us from him or others. Taking up the report first; it was written May 6, 1711, just a short time after Cary had seized his brigantine, but before he had made the attack on the

governor. At this time the prospects of making the colony succeed were bright, if only help could be secured; and as soon as Cary could be reduced to obedience he might hope for help from the province. The town had been nicely laid out by this time, the people supplied as well as possible with stock, and Graffenried was beginning to think about making exploring expeditions to find gold and silver. As yet his money affairs had not reached a serious condition; he had laid out 2228£ worth of supplies of cattle and grain, and had purchased two boats. The supplies had come for the most part from one man, Thomas Pollock. He with the rest was now becoming suspicious, and refused to sell more. The letters from the settlers express no dissatisfaction, but nevertheless it existed, for the contract with the commissioners relating to supplies for the people had not been fully kept, and there was talk of making a complaint to them. As Graffenried had given a bond for 5000£, such a complaint might cause him great inconvenience and loss. He and Michel had agreed to supply each family with two cows, two calves, five sows with their young, two ewes and two lambs, with a male of each kind, within two months of their arrival.¹ Repayment was to be made by the colonists after seven years, at which time the same number of animals would be returned with one half the stock on hand. The first comers had been in America over a year, and the confusion in the province and the distance from other colonists had made it impossible to deliver more than ten cows, 30 swine, four horses, and eight sheep. The financial difficulties were not yet at a crisis, however, and the timely arrival of money from Switzerland would have allayed all fears and have enabled the work of colonization to go on unhindered. What he wrote then, while he was in the midst of his work, knowing the bearer of the letter, Mr. Bötschi, would be present to confirm or deny the statements contained in it, make it more than likely that the information given is reliable. The accounts written several years after some of the events occurred, at a time when he was smarting under the criticisms of his acquaintances, when

¹ Col. Rec., vol. I, page 988.

his plans and hopes had all been shattered and when the occurrences had become somewhat confused in his memory, are, of course, more open to question as to their accuracy. The criticism he makes of his colonists,¹ in which he accuses them of all kinds of wickedness and makes almost no exception, was certainly inspired more by the disappointment he had suffered than the actual character of the settlers, who, to judge from their letters, were pious and intended well. Moreover, at the time the report was written he seems to have been perfectly satisfied with them.

The contract between Graffenried and Michel on the one hand, and other members on the other, by which they became associates in the Georg Ritter Company shows that, as far as Graffenried and Michel were concerned, the mines were what they and Ritter were basing their hopes for returns upon, and that the 17,500 acres were merely a foundation to the greater enterprise of mining.

The "*Memorial*" which follows was written while Graffenried was still in an optimistic mood, and appears to have been taken, in part, from some English author. He says it was translated from the English. This is not entirely exact, for a portion of it which deals with the purchase of a ship to be used to transport colonists from Holland to America, certainly was not translated from anything. A description of the care of swine and the manner of calling them to the house at feeding time occurs in Kocherthal in almost the same words. In general, though, the *Memorial* is filled up with the results of his own observations, arranged under heads, as the writers of such accounts were fond of doing, and some of the details were perhaps taken from similar books in English.

The letters which close the accounts prove conclusively that as late as April and May there was no serious discontent among the colonists with the treatment they had received. Not a word is said about the scarcity of cattle, and Graffenried is always mentioned with respect. A hopeful tone pervades all of the letters. The complaint which occurs oftenest is over the lack of German women folks, for all who

¹ All three accounts.

wished home comfort, washing, and mending, could not find wives. They wished their beer also, and one of the men whose wife understood brewing, was planning to supply the deficiency by ordering the necessary utensils from home. The lack, too, of a regular minister was severely felt, and caused some anxiety lest the religious fervor should die out for want of pastoral ministrations in addition to the Sunday reading of prayers. But nowhere is there any reflection on Graffenried's character or conduct.

The most severe criticism has been made on him for mortgaging the settler's land to Pollock, and then when the colony was broken up, leaving them in their distress and going to Europe. Any one reading these contemporary documents with the other accounts will certainly be compelled to take a more charitable view. He will see that what Graffenried did was not only done in good faith, but was really a good business move under the circumstances, and that the fault lay with the Company in Bern.

Referring back to PART II, Chapter V, it will be seen that the Georg Ritter Company proposed to buy 10000 acres of land before the Palatines had come to England, while they had in prospect only their own 156 voluntary emigrants and exiles. Then Graffenried and Michel added their small number to that on the condition that these miners with their families, numbering about 40 persons, should come later if they were sent for. After Graffenried became connected with the company, while the Proprietors were making propositions to the committee, but before anything had been done to give them any reason for believing that these Germans would be sent to their colony, the Company actually purchased 10000 acres. Graffenried contributed 5000 which belonged to him personally and Michel added 2500 acres making 17500 acres to which the Company had claims before they were sure of more than 156 persons. A month and more after these negotiations were completed the committee acted favorably on the Proprietors' proposition to this extent, that 650 persons were at length allowed to them. These last came at no expense to the Georg Ritter Company, and yet the Company was to

get the benefit of their quit-rents and the increased value of land in the colony which would result from the larger number of settlers.

When sickness and death reduced the 650 to about 300, there were still more than enough left to take the place of the 56 prisoners whom they were unable to bring, and the nine Swiss who died on the journey and after landing in Virginia.¹ Even the massacre of September, 1711, in which 70 or 80 fell, left more than the Company had originally planned to send and had actually purchased land for; and besides there were still about 40 persons, the miners, anxious to come over. Having had all the summer of 1709 with its delays and uncertainties, in which to think over their plans, and plenty of opportunity to change their minds, their action after the colony was settled is most contemptible. They never sent Graffenried anything more than advice to go ahead on credit. The loss of part of the Palatines was no excuse, for as we have seen, they had not reasonably counted on them in the first place, and whatever number of them should succeed in settling was so much gain. Having made the start, then, they should have supported their enterprise until they had better evidence than their own fears that nothing would come of it. Even after the massacre, it is reasonably certain that with the money due him, Graffenried could have held his colony together, and either rebuilt at New Bern, or have gone to Virginia and engaged in agriculture and mining there. Silver, to be sure, would never have made them rich, but iron was there in abundance, and Spotswood only a short time after, as has been shown (PART I, Chapter III) engaged Graffenried's miners in a profitable enterprise, the beginning of the iron blast furnace industry in America. The profits of this might just as well have gone, in part at least, to the George Ritter Company, and the investment would have paid them.² As it was, since Graffenried had no idea they were actually abandoning him, to tide his people over the critical periods of the first year and keep the colony intact for the Company, he had

¹ German Version, Letters.

² Byrd, page 333 ff. A progress to the Mines in the Year 1732.

mortgaged the land beyond all hope of redeeming it by its own efforts, and he did this before he became sure that the Company had deserted him. In criticizing this action one must remember that the people did not own their lands outright as other settlers. They were *tenants* of the Company which was supposed to support them. Graffenried, therefore, did not sign away land belonging to other people; besides by the strict system of recording real estate transactions in use in Carolina this would have been impossible. Rather, he signed away a tract for which he was agent, which was made out to him, and of which he was the owner in the eyes of the law. His position was not an enviable one, for on the one hand he was responsible to the company which expected him to make the investment profitable, a task that could only be accomplished by keeping the people together and supplied with necessities; on the other hand the people who looked to him for support, advice and protection, were in danger of losing their lands if the Company failed to send help. The latter possibility was the more remote. Hunger was at their doors, and he chose to mortgage their lands and wait for help from Bern. Could he reasonably be expected to have done differently? The answer is to be found in his report. For this report which was written at a time when he foresaw the impending disaster unless help should be sent, which begs with the eloquence of despair for the assistance that belonged to him, and on which the welfare of several hundred colonists depended, speaks more convincingly for the integrity of his motives than any justification he could write afterwards.

The little settlement did not, however, entirely die out with the departure of the leader and the partial disbanding of the inhabitants. For many of them continued to live in the neigh-

This gives a detailed description of the mines which Graffenried's workmen were operating. Spotswood was one of several who made up the Company; the enterprise was self-supporting, in that a part of the operatives tended the farms to supply food for the laborers and the oxen and horses employed. The lack of farm laborers was a hindrance, and the furnaces could not run full time in consequence. The arrangement actually made was just such as Graffenried would have made with his settlers if he had been assisted by his Company.

borhood and other settlers were attracted by the location, until in time another flourishing town arose from the ruins of the first.

It is, too, one of the ironies of fate that one of Graffenried's darling ambitions for his town was realized only after his death. He had hoped to make New Bern the chief city in the province and to move the seat of government thither, but the disaster which attended his first efforts and forced him to abandon his first colony, destroyed this hope also. Nevertheless, although he lived to see a few sessions of the assembly held in his town, it was not till 1765, over 20 years after his death, that New Bern was officially made the capital of North Carolina, a distinction which it held for over twenty-five years. Since then, although it has experienced the vicissitudes of the Civil War and the Reconstruction, it is today one of the most prosperous towns in North Carolina, and an honor to its German founders who builded better than they knew.

Two full centuries have now passed since the little colony of Germans established their settlement at New Bern and contributed their share towards the religious and political liberty we now enjoy. Graffenried's failure, for such he reckoned it, is not all a failure if we may in any way learn to appreciate better the blessings we now enjoy by considering the cost at which they have been purchased for us. Certainly coming years, with their greater fullness of knowledge, will deal more fairly with Baron de Graffenried than the past has done, and the justification he so much desired, though late, will be fully rendered.

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